



THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

ALBAN BERG

By HANS HOLLÄNDER

ON FEBRUARY 9, 1935, this great and modest artist crossed the threshold of his fiftieth year, and on the following Christmas Day the world of music was shocked by the news of his death. The honors that the first event evoked and the grief with which the second was met are a clear indication of the extraordinary effect his work has already produced in our day in spite of all obstacles and misunderstandings. For this is the characteristic feature of Alban Berg's art—that it impels each listener to an unconditional and avowed position, and that no one can be merely indifferent to it. Thus, Alban Berg's work has already served several times as the focus of most heated discussions, and the resounding echo which followed his *Wozzeck* was easily one of the most powerful æsthetic reactions a musical work has called forth during the last decades. The violence of those discussions concerning *Wozzeck* (to be sure, similar polemics—partly turning into public scandals—were nothing unusual where Berg's music was concerned) were contrary to the distinguished personality and art of Berg, neither of which sought the limelight of propaganda.

A Viennese by birth—the origin of his family leads back to Bavaria—the musical atmosphere of his native city, filled, at the turn of the century, with the most powerful tension and ferment, had drawn him under its sway. For it was precisely in Vienna that the forces that accompanied the fading away of musical post-romanticism were most strongly in

evidence. Here had lived Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler, who, each in his special way, once more set in motion the classical-romantic heritage in grand and, as with Mahler, in even tragic works. If Wagner's tonal world found, in the phenomenon of Anton Bruckner, a respect-commanding, specifically Austrian embodiment, in the presence of which the North-German matter-of-factness and traditionalism of a Brahms were sensed as antithetical, Gustav Mahler—in spite of various traits in common with both Bruckner and Brahms—still stood apart as one whose nervous intellectualism was most profoundly aware of the disintegration symptoms of the epoch. Thus, then, did Mahler in particular become an important, spiritual experience for Alban Berg. Mahler's artistic creed, which demanded the highest sincerity from the composer and his work; the idealistic romantic ethos, which was reflected in his symphonic music; and, not least, the highly personal modernity of Mahler's style (in his instrumentation and polyphony) certainly influenced Berg profoundly and also Arnold Schoenberg. (Schoenberg, out of gratitude to the older master, dedicated his *Harmonielehre* to Gustav Mahler, and Alban Berg dedicated his *Wozzeck* to Mahler's widow, Alma Maria.) In 1904, Arnold Schoenberg stepped into Berg's life. The association, downright fateful for the younger man, was now destined to bring the latent creative powers of the student to full maturity.



What was the condition of post-romantic music when Arnold Schoenberg and, a few years later, Alban Berg stepped before the public with their works? The intensification of the artistic medium in post-romantic music, especially the decomposition of harmony—produced by musical impressionism—had to lead, eventually, to a complete breach with the traditional material. Schoenberg who, as a harmonist, has his roots in impressionism and *Tristan* chromaticism, brought about—the first to do so—the most radical results, by casting out the law of the diatonic functional relationship of individual tones and of chords, and by allowing himself an entirely free hand in so-called “atonality.” In his twelve-tone music—in which he almost set the atonal *melos* and the atonal harmony into a system—he sought only to render legitimate a process which had begun as a radical, revolutionary gesture, but which already today appears as an organic chapter in musical style-development.



Alban Berg

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21.6.34 Sehr lieber
herr Engel, Dank
für Ihren Brief vom
8.5.44. und für Ihre
Entgegenkommen bezüglich des Drucks
für die Wagnerspartitur. Diese wird
Ihren als von Wien aus, u. zw. von
der Universal-Edition übernommen, zugleich
mit der von mir unter Frankfurter
Government Vorchell. Es werde beauftragt
sein, wenn sie fast vollständig auf
Klavier ist u. eine so würdige Vor-
wahrnehmung stellen können werden,
wie sich die Library of Congress Text.
- - - in diesem Jahr, als man
ganz am Anfang mit der ersten

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Mr. Carl Engel
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Post-card from Alban Berg to
Carl Engel, chiefly concerning
the Acquisition by the Library
of Congress of the holograph
score of *Wozzeck*.

(Berg identified the sheet lying on the desk, by writing "Lulu" on the card.)

(By Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

[illegible]

The stylistic problem, however, had also a sociological aspect of decided importance. The romanticists up to Mendelssohn, Schumann, and, in part, Liszt also, had still addressed themselves to a public in which differences in the level of general cultivation did not yet essentially matter. But, beginning with the Lisztian programme music and its strong literary aspirations, a cultural aloofness makes itself felt, which increases in significance the closer we come to the present time. Berlioz, Reger, Strauss, Mahler—these men have never belonged to the people as have, to some extent, a Haydn or a Schubert. With the refinement of the stylistic material of post-romantic music, there went, hand in hand, an increasing estrangement between the creative artist and the public. The artist became a solitary and took his cross upon himself. It was granted only a few wholly great artist-souls, in that time of collapse, to create an uncompromising art of compelling genuineness and of a forward-looking, prophetic spirit. Next to Schoenberg himself and Anton Webern, Alban Berg is the purest exponent of Schoenberg's tenets, based fully on atonality.



Each of Berg's works represents the fruit of a slow and conscientious process of ripening. This music is not conceived impulsively, much less is it fashioned by a facile hand. Hence his total output is comparatively small and the fifty-year-old composer, at the time of his death, could count off barely a dozen works. Everything in them is highly concentrated and spiritualized; conception and realization are inevitably related. The emphasis on form is indeed characteristic of Berg's music. Some compositions—especially in the last period, such as, for instance, the *Chamber Concerto*, portions of *Wozzeck*, the *Lyric Suite*, or the music to *Lulu*—remind one, in their clever construction and artful polyphony, of the old Netherlands. Sonata and suite movements, as well as forms in strict style, such as inventions, passacaglias, fugues, and canons, are employed. The variation seems to be the specially favored form of thematic development in the twelve-tone technique. The thematic material is here formed out of the group of the twelve chromatic tones contained in an octave and then further developed in the most ingenious kinds of variation and permutation. Inversions ("mirrors") of the theme or retrograde arrangements of it ("crabs") appear frequently. Thus, the *reprises* of the second movement of the *Chamber Concerto* and of

the third movement of the *Lyric Suite* exhibit the thematic material of the exposition in exactly contrary formation. Rhythmic elements, too, often have constructive significance, as when, for example, the melody tones of a theme originally given rhythmic value in a certain way are set in new rhythms (e.g., *Wozzeck*, the third movement of the *Chamber Concerto*). Berg's intellectualism, which here finds expression, is, however, by no means an end in itself or the result of mere pleasure in artistic dexterity. It is, rather, the source of a form-creating process, which assembles the rudimentary power of the thing imagined into strict and clear structures. The form here becomes, as it were, a frame and necessary means of binding together the infinitely rich tone-material; and it perhaps is intended to serve as proof that the most radical advance in the choice of means and the preservation of traditional structures may well go hand in hand.



Three phases of development may be clearly distinguished in Berg's works. The first is characterized by the gradual disintegration of the post-romantic harmony with its predominating altered chords and by the crystallization, increasingly evident, of a personal style. To this phase belong the *Seven Early Songs* (1907) to texts by Karl Hauptmann, Nikolaus Lenau, Theodor Storm, Rainer Maria Rilke, Johannes Schlaf, Otto Erich Hartleben, and Paul Hohenberg. These songs are of the greatest delicacy and beauty. Here the influences of Wagner and Brahms are still perceptible, but Berg's artistic individuality comes to the fore more and more clearly, above all in the highly compressed mood-intensity of these songs, which affects the listener like a subtle drug. The one-movement Piano Sonata, Op. 1 (1908) also belongs, in its Tristanesque harmony and late romantic feeling, to that early period. But here free harmonic turns and strict logic in the thematic treatment are already noticeable, traits that lead over to Berg's mature style.

In 1926 a String Quartet in two movements, Op. 3, appeared from the press, a work the time of whose origin dates from before the war. In this work the emancipation from the tonal manner of writing is completely consummated, and Berg, under the influence of Schoenberg, created in it a work of convincing clarity in composition and thematic treatment. This work is a typical production of modern chamber-music style and a promising forecast of Berg's highest achievement in chamber-

music composition, the *Lyric Suite*. To this second period belong also the *Four Pieces for Clarinet and Piano*, Op. 5 (1913). These pieces take the form of concise and intimate dialogue, furnishing an example of Berg's art in musical miniature, an art which follows a line similar to that of Anton Webern's *Pieces for String Quartet*, works compressed to an aphoristic brevity. But, where in Webern the substance and form of the chamber-music break up, as it were, into their elements, there is always perceptible in Berg a strong constructive will far removed from any decadent trend.

In the *Orchestra Pieces*, Op. 6, Berg grapples for the first time with the technique of the large orchestra. Here too, through the suite-like plan of the work—consisting of a Prelude, Round-dance, and March—strict form is emphasized. The plasticity of the thematic treatment and the extraordinary vitality of the voice-leading are again conspicuous. This vitality is made especially evident through the facts that each instrument and each instrumental choir is handled in an almost *obbligato* manner and that there are simply no purely filling-in or merely color-producing voices in Berg. This orchestral technique finds itself displayed most clearly through the composer's distinguishing the individual parts or groups as leading or secondary voices by means of special signs (H \square for a leading voice, N \square for a secondary voice). To the precision of the Berg technique belong also the detailed indications with respect to dynamics and agogics. These indications go so far in Berg that almost every measure contains a definite and independent shading. The composer's directions often function exactly like a running commentary set beneath the music, whose complicated structure it seeks to elucidate. Late-romantic music, as exemplified by Mahler, arrives here at the last consequences of its immensely heightened will-towards-expression. We find here extreme flexibility and differentiation of nuances in the tonal picture, which, liberated from its poetic and psychological ties with romanticism, takes on an individual impress of the most daring cast.

A music of such force and latent dramatic quality inevitably had to find its way to the stage. And the curious situation arose that this music—mature in the highest sense—, in which an epoch reaches its end, should seize upon a drama such as Georg Büchner's *Wozzeck*, which, in its day, had sounded the tocsin at the invasion of a new artistic creed. Büchner and Berg, two inspired creative natures, strikingly akin spiritually, complement each other here in spite of their

positions at opposite poles in intellectual history, or perhaps because of it. The former is the impetuous up-beat to the romantic, naturalistic drama, and the latter represents the crystallized coda of the expressive music of romanticism—and yet the synthesis is an altogether great artwork, in which all elements without exception are merged. The scenes of Büchner's drama, full of extraordinary psychical tension, and the characters, with their uncannily sharp profiles, must have been decisive in making Berg resolve to set this text. The characteristic distinctiveness of these scenes, moreover, corresponds with the much discussed symphonic plan of the *Wozzeck* music, which is formed, in Act I, of five character pieces; in Act II, of a five-movement symphony; and, in Act III, of six inventions. Here too, Berg shows himself the strictly logical formalist. The new and significant feature of this opera, from the viewpoint of historical development, is that this music, so eminently theatrical that it never for a moment releases the listener from its spell, is held together by an architecture of instrumental forms which, in contrast to the forms of pre-Wagnerian opera, are erected on a consistently symphonic plan. The singing voice, which, for the main part, is divested of all *cantabile* character, often undergoes a purely instrumental treatment, and it takes the same share in the thematic development of the various numbers as do the instruments (see Act II, Scene 2).

In the history of opera, there are only a few examples in which the psychical-spiritual atmosphere of the action is transmuted into music in such a masterful manner as in *Wozzeck*. It is just for Büchner's abnormal, tormented, and, one might almost say, psychopathic characters that Berg's music furnishes the appropriate tonal expression. How the ghosts rise from the depths of the subconscious; how the uncontrollable forces, which shape the action, produce an atmosphere pregnant with doom; how strangely the narrow world of little souls and Nature outside the city are bound up with the drama—all of this, Berg's music does not aim to interpret in the sense of musico-dramatic psychology; it does much more—it presents the events of the story in a quasi-metaphysical perspective.

As early as in *Wozzeck*, the composition of which had lasted almost six years, there are traces of the twelve-tone technique, which becomes characteristic of Berg's final period. The last word in handling this intellectual complexity, in combination with artistic vitalization, is the *Chamber Concerto*, for violin, piano, and thirteen wind-instruments (1925). Offered to Arnold Schoenberg on the occasion of his fiftieth

birthday, it was intended as a token of homage for the master, but at the same time testified to the inner relationship between him and his disciples and spiritual kinsmen, Anton Webern and Alban Berg. This "Trinity of Events" corresponds with the constructive plan of the whole work, in which the number three takes on a basic significance. Three is the number of the movements (*Tema scherzoso con Variazioni*, *Adagio*, and *Rondo ritmico con Introduzione*); and three is the number of instrumental types (keyboard, string, and wind), with a different instrument taking the lead in each movement, accompanied by the winds. The main theme of the first movement, developed in variation style, is constructed out of those letters of the names, Schoenberg, Webern, and Berg, that have musical equivalents. In the *Adagio*, there occurs, after the exposition, a strictly inverted, that is, "mirrored" repetition of the thematic material, while the third movement presents a free combination of the first and second movements. Similar constructive features are displayed by the *Lyric Suite* (1926), one of Berg's finest works and a high point in modern string-quartet style. Despite the fact that they are by no means abandoned, the rigidity of construction and motival consanguinity of the movements, which marked the *Chamber Concerto*, are here none the less modified through the distinction and charm of its style. In six movements, we witness, as it were, the journey of a soul: from an *Allegro gioviale* and *Andante amoroso* through an *Allegro misterioso*, *Adagio appassionato*, and *Presto delirando* into a *Largo desolato*. This work also derives its character from the twelve-tone technique. Alongside free forms, there are movements treated in sonata and dance style and with the use of imitation, movements which are thematically linked to one another by more or less definite motives. The extremely effective concert aria, *The Wine*, follows a similar procedure. This work invests with an enchantingly rich and mature music—itself like a noble old wine—the triptych made of Stefan George's translations, *Die Seele des Weines*, *Der Wein der Liebenden*, and *Der Wein des Einsamen*, selected from the five poems comprising Baudelaire's *Le Vin*.

In November, 1934, Alban Berg, as the last contribution to his output up to that date, brought to their first performance, as a suite, five symphonic pieces from his new opera *Lulu*. This suite, arranged for concert use, comprises, in cyclic sequence, the following movements: *Rondo (Andante)*; a scherzo-like *Ostinato* section with a crabwise retrogression (*Allegro*); the *Lied der Lulu (Comodo)*; Variations (*Mod-*

erato) on an original ballad-tune by Wedekind, whose double drama, "The Earth-Spirit" and "Pandora's Box", Berg compressed into the text for his opera; and *Adagio*. Here also the twelve-tone style supplies a constructive basis for a music of visionary power and convincing authenticity. Berg's last work, *Lulu*, germinating and growing in seclusion from the daily toil and moil, in the sequestered life of a sensitive artist, will be awaited with keen expectation by the whole musical world.¹

¹ See footnote 5 on page 401.

(Translated by G. R.)

ALBAN BERG'S *LULU*

By WILLI REICH

ON THE 24th of December 1935, in Vienna, after a short, severe illness, Alban Berg closed his eyes forever. What this composer meant to the musical culture of Austria and also to the whole international world of music, need not be discussed here. His principal compositions are known in America, particularly the two most popular, the opera *Wozzeck*, the original score of which was promptly acquired by the Library of Congress at Washington, and the "Lyric Suite" for string quartet.¹ Parts of his last great work, *Lulu*, furthermore, in the form of a group of "Symphonic Pieces" which Berg himself arranged from the opera, have been performed in Boston and New York. The fact that this music has become so widely known, and the special artistic significance that may be attributed in a general sense to the opera itself, would seem warrant enough for embarking on the observations that follow, dealing first with the text and then with the musical form of Berg's setting.

Berg took the text of *Lulu* verbatim, though with numerous abbreviations, from a double drama of Frank Wedekind written during the years 1893-1905, the two parts of which are called respectively "The Earth-Spirit" and "Pandora's Box," and which appeared in English in 1923 in S. A. Eliot's translation entitled "Tragedies of Sex." The heroine of both plays is the leading female figure of Lulu, of whom Julius Kapp as early as 1909 gave an acute characterization which Berg himself considered very apt:

Her nature includes almost all the particularly feminine characteristics; all passions, all the sensual, spiritual, and artistic instincts dwell in her bosom. The apparently most contradictory states of emotion and action, the whole gamut of a human being's inner life, are here fused into a powerful unity: child-like innocence with slyest coquetry, tender sentiment with the most cold-hearted lack of consideration, truly feminine timidity with the most fearless energy. In short, all the strings of that fine instrument, the soul, vibrate harmonically here, and for the most part in disharmony. That the discords so far predominate lies in the fact that this creature is independent of time and culture. Hers is a *completely*

¹ One of Berg's most recent works, a two-movement Violin Concerto, was written in the summer of 1935 at the instigation of an American violinist.

natural primal spirit which uses the conditions and customs of the moment merely as means of expression for its ego without these in turn exerting any influence upon it. In the impact of this primal woman upon the surrounding world—and especially upon man, who first brings her dæmonic impulses to full embodiment—and in the resulting life-and-death battle, lies the greatness of the dramatic problem and its tragedy. Out of the struggle between these two forces, too, springs the action of our tragedy. None of the men can resist the all-powerful ascendancy of Lulu. All of them are lured and conquered by the effluence that emanates from her. Each of them is faced with the problem, each solves it in his own way. One follows his instincts without reflection, another with premeditation, still another despite most vigorous resistance; but they all pursue her, possess her—and are doomed.

After this general characterization of the leading figure, let us now observe in detail what goes on upon the stage, again making use in part of Kapp's description: The curtain rises on a painter's studio. Schwarz, a highly gifted young artist, has for some time been engaged in doing a portrait of Lulu as Pierrot. Her husband, old Medical Councillor Goll, always accompanies her to these sittings and in all respects keeps a strict watch upon her. This time he meets in the studio his friend Dr. Schoen and Schoen's son Alva, and after long hesitation lets himself be persuaded to accompany them to the dress rehearsal of a ballet of which Alva is the author, leaving Lulu meantime alone with Schwarz. By her coqueties Lulu drives the painter's ardor to the pitch of madness. She flees him in reckless, wanton frolic all round the studio and only after a wild chase does she sink exhausted and surrender to the frantic kisses of her pursuer. Suddenly Goll returns, breaks down the locked door, and is about to throw himself in senseless rage upon the two. But a heart-attack makes a sudden end of him. After but a few weeks Lulu becomes the painter's wife. As his model she inspires him to the painting of several large pictures and thus makes his name famous. But before so very long his sentimental amorousness begins to bore her. So she attempts to renew her former intimate relations with Dr. Schoen. Fearing to succumb once more to Lulu's influence, Schoen opens the painter's eyes in the matter of Lulu's past and her passionate instincts so that he may the better look after her. But Schwarz, totally stripped of his illusions, cannot survive the shame, and commits suicide.—Lulu now completes her training as a dancer and appears every night in ballets by Alva Schoen with great success. In this profession too she finds countless admirers, but she turns them all away. Dr. Schoen, who has been engaged for a long time to a young

girl of good family, has not the courage to marry. Struggle as he may, he cannot completely free himself from Lulu. His manner when he meets her is indeed brusque and offensive, but this is only to hide his true feelings towards her. But she has long since seen through him and in a favorable moment she makes use of her dæmonic powers over him to force the breaking of his engagement and to achieve her desired goal of becoming Frau Doktor Schoen. Though Schoen is the only one she has really loved in her life, she deceives him too with all sorts of possible and impossible people. Schigolch, an old vagabond whom she passes off as her father, and Rodrigo, an athlete, serve her as pastimes. And even her step-son Alva has already fallen, almost beyond rescue, under her spell. Dr. Schoen, who in the midst of all these excitements has begun to suffer from a persecution complex, overhears a scene between Lulu and Alva in which she tries to subjugate the young man completely; Schoen presses his revolver upon her and tries to compel her to take her own life; but she, in her deathly fright, turns the weapon not upon herself but upon him and shoots him down. The first part of Wedekind's tragedy ends with the arrest of Lulu. This point represents both the geometrical center of Berg's opera and the beginning of Lulu's catastrophic downfall.

At the beginning of the second part, Lulu is serving her twelve-year sentence in the penitentiary. Rodrigo the athlete, and the Countess Geschwitz, who adores and idolizes her, want to get her out. Finally the Countess succeeds through a ruse: she has managed, by wearing the linen of a cholera patient, to infect both herself and Lulu so that they should both be taken to the infirmary together. Here she has made herself up to look like Lulu, and their plan works out so that, when they are both recovered, Lulu is free to leave the infirmary while the Countess remains as the supposed murderess of Dr. Schoen. So much for the preliminary story to Wedekind's second play.—Alva now awaits Lulu on her return from prison. In the same room in which she shot his father, he now confesses his love; then they depart for Paris. Here they set up a fine salon and run through Alva's fortune. Many characters from the first part, like Rodrigo and Schigolch, show up again here; and in the big party-scene there are present also a Marquis Casti Piani, procurer and police spy, who is now Lulu's most favored lover, and many others. They all, even down to the elevator-boy, follow Lulu's triumphal car and come to ruin in her arms. Finally, after gambling losses and unfortunate speculations, Alva and Lulu lose their last penny.

As Casti Piani threatens them with the police, only rapid flight can save them.—In the company of Alva, Schigolch, and the Geschwitz, Lulu, totally without resources, gets to London. There they live in a miserable attic room. Lulu has sunk to the level of a prostitute; she is already very wretched, but her eyes still light up with the old gleam and she still easily finds admirers on the streets. One after the other she brings a variety of grotesque figures to the attic room, and finally an uncanny fellow who later reveals himself as "Jack the ripper." With a piercing yell Lulu precipitates herself from the room, calling for help. The Geschwitz, running to her side, is stabbed by Jack hurrying after her. He drags Lulu back into the room by force and under his hands she breathes her life out. With a few plaintive sounds from the dying Geschwitz, Wedekind's tragedy and Berg's opera are done.

To make quite clear the irreality of the foregoing crass and dime-novelistic events upon the stage and to forestall every possibility of a purely realistic interpretation, Wedekind preceded his drama with a prologue, the greater part of which Berg also set to music. In this prologue the poet himself appears as an animal tamer (represented in Berg's opera by the singer of the rôle of Rodrigo, the athlete) who introduces and characterizes the dramatis personæ as the animals of his menagerie. Lulu is presented as a snake, with the following lines:

*She was created to instigate harm,
To lure, to seduce, to poison—
To murder—without anyone's noticing.
My sweet creature, don't you put on affectations!
You have no right, by miaowing and spitting
To put the primal shape of woman out of joint for us.*

Here the motive, already mentioned, of Lulu as the symbol of the original, all-embracing female nature, comes clearly to the fore, at once raising the drama from the very beginning into that mythical, dreamy sphere which alone justifies the addition of music, nay, calls for it.

Before we pass to consideration of the musical form with which Berg invested the tragedy of Lulu, we should dispose once for all of the objections raised to such material as subject-matter for an opera on the grounds that it might be regarded as depraved, perverted, or immoral. The basic mistake easily made here was pointedly referred to by Dr. Heinrich Jalowetz, a boyhood friend of Berg's and a fellow-pupil under Arnold Schoenberg, in his address delivered at the celebration of Berg's fiftieth birthday anniversary in Vienna on the 9th of Febru-

ary, 1935, when he said, in effect: We are always trying to separate content from form, and forget that the content is the form itself, that which is made of the substance through the medium of the artist. If the stuff, the story, were not a negative quantity in works of art, Shakespeare would not have reconstructed anew almost exclusively borrowed fables, nor would his hand have made of them the greatest dramatic creations of all times. In an opera in which the music newly re-interprets, so to speak, the spoken form of the material, so that the stuff goes through a double forming process, this is more than ever the case. Even Wagner, author and composer as he was, with a single exception (*Meistersinger*) started from given material. So that only what the artist makes out of the material, how he shapes it, can be the true content of the work of art in question and particularly of the opera.

How music can transform, however, even a text which lacks any means of artistic sublimation is best shown in the case of *Traviata*. For when Verdi, who had hitherto used only heroic, historical and romantic subjects, in 1853 had the temerity to make an opera of Dumas' "Dame aux Camélias," there must have been quite as much shaking of heads as at Berg's idea of setting Wedekind to music. And what Verdi's music made out of this long-since faded play-with-a-purpose, is common knowledge. Less well known, perhaps, are the views expressed by the greatest authority in musical criticism of that day, Edward Hanslick, on Verdi's audacity in setting *Traviata*. Hanslick wrote at the time: "The first half of the opera glorifies debauchery, the second, tuberculosis; here we have the whited sepulchre, there the open grave. *Traviata* is the latest of those experiments which adapt the *haut-gout* of the Parisian theatre-repertoire for opera; it endeavors to present upon the stage an as yet unexploited pathological excitation in the form of pulmonary consumption." But later on even Hanslick wrote: "Music, which can never represent even the most ghastly things quite without beauty, here penetrates the whole fabric of corruption itself with an idealizing influence and resolves the frightful reality of the drama into a melancholy dream." Wedekind's tragedy, however, differs fundamentally from Dumas' play in that it was never intended as realistic theatre.

In order to represent great passions and heroic actions, which are the indispensable elements of tragedy, poets and dramatists have for the most part resorted to the artifice of transposing their story into a historical or mythological (Wagner!) atmosphere. To Wedekind's time

such a solution of the problem was entirely foreign. Removal from the safe bourgeois atmosphere that has no room for great emotions Wedekind achieves through the circus, the theatre, the unrestrained daemon of primal femininity permeating all regions of life. These are his substitute for the historical costume. Further removal from the petty, near reality of every day he achieves through an exaggeration of characters to the grotesque, an over stressing of dramatic suspense, and a precipitate piling up of incidents, which carry everything over into the realm of adventure and phantasy. Thus, to give but one example, the final scene—the lowest rung in Lulu's career, with the uncanny wax-figure collection of lovers brought up from the street—turns into a ghost-scene à la E. T. A. Hoffmann, and Lulu's gruesome end becomes a hell-bound journey during which one's powers to hear and see and to reflect upon naked facts simply vanish away. But when we are aware of this ghost-dream irreality in the ostensible realism of Wedekind, then we also understand how it was that the composer of *Wozzeck* should have been attracted to this text. *Wozzeck* himself—an officer's orderly in a world only in appearance very small and, dispassionately regarded, downright absurd—is haunted and ghost-ridden, and in this atmosphere a dialogue on diet and other natural functions becomes, through what lies between the lines, an Alpine dream.

But there is another and much more essential reason why Berg chose these two particular texts. Only the uniqueness and the universal validity of characters that are in the broadest sense frankly mythical can justify the enhanced expressiveness of the sung word, and for this reason only operas that depend on such figures and in which episode and incidental detail recede into the background can survive all periods. *Wozzeck* is one of these unique, exemplary incarnations of a certain life-feeling, and Lulu too, "wild, lovely creature," as Wedekind's prologue calls her, belongs among those tragic figures of mythic cast who, like Carmen, like Othello, and above all like that male counterpart of Lulu, Don Juan, are the colossal, aye, monstrous representatives of one attribute, one passion.

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But here again it is only music that can reveal the true idea of tragedy, for as Nietzsche so finely says: "Only music leads to true reality, into the heart of the world."

That the music Berg wrote for Wedekind's tragedy really does lead

"into the heart of the world," that is, into *the* world itself as it is mirrored in the mind and heart of a great artist and man, we have already seen from the few examples provided by the "Symphonic Pieces." We find in these "Symphonic Pieces," which are in part self-contained instrumental interludes, in part fragments from various sections of the opera, a tenderness of expression, a skill of instrumentation, and a subtlety of voice-leading which far surpass the style of *Wozzeck*, developing it further both in melodic quality and in dramatic thrust and power.

Concerning the general principles by which he was guided in his work on the opera Berg once expressed himself in a letter as follows:

In contradistinction to *Wozzeck*, where the character and completeness of the many short scenes necessitated the use of self-contained character-pieces and a variety of musical forms (even those of pure instrumental music), *Lulu* called forth a preference for *vocal* forms (like arias, duets, trios, ensembles up to twelve voices) and furthermore a musical orientation more along the lines of the human personalities that run through the whole work (for example, the sonata form for the character of Dr. Schoen, the rondo form for that of Alva, the exotic pentatonic scheme for the tragic figure of the Countess Geschwitz, etc., etc.).

So I repeat: if in *Wozzeck* it was the character of the separate scenes that gave rise to the form, in *Lulu* it was the character (the total personality to be sustained throughout) of each one of the here much more broadly conceived personalities on the stage.

At the same time, nevertheless, I sought to make each scene, each act, complete in itself, as may most easily be seen, for example, in the great party-scene. Or, for example, in the quasi symmetric structure of the two scenes of the second act (which also take place in the same room, Dr. Schoen's apartment), the same persons taking part in the dramatic happenings both *before* and *after* the *dénouement*. Midway in the opera (after the murder of Dr. Schoen by Lulu on the one hand and before her release from prison on the other) comes the arrest and imprisonment of Lulu, indicated by a silent film with music. This *entr'acte* music therefore at once constitutes the *center* of the whole work (after her fabulous rise, at the apex of her social position, Lulu furthermore now enters on her catastrophic downward way) and unites the two separate halves of Wedekind's drama.

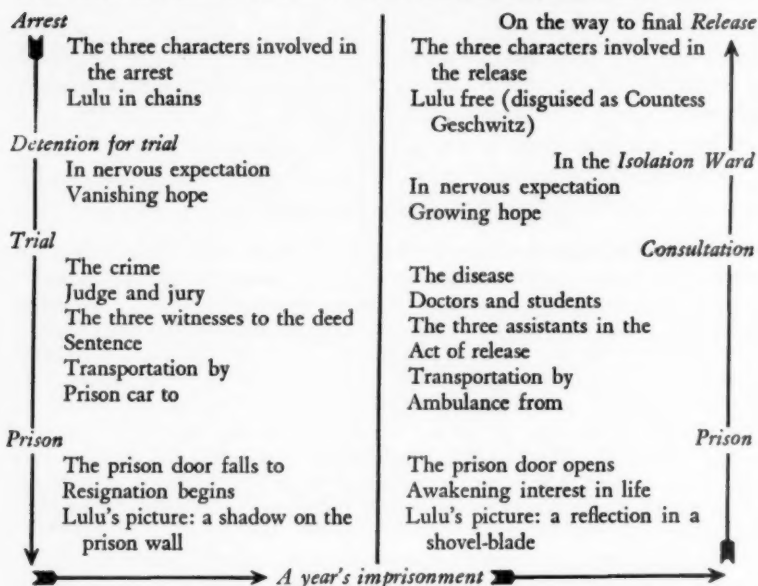
The unity of the music is assured by the fact that the whole opera is constructed upon a *single* twelve-tone row, the subdivision, inversion, and reforming of which made possible in turn not only great variety but in many instances what is practically a *leit-motive* treatment of both melodic and harmonic elements.

For the film accompanying the *entr'acte* music Berg drew up the following scheme in his version of the text:

During the transformation music, the vicissitudes of Lulu's life in the ensuing years are outlined in a silent film, the screen incidents, corresponding to the symmetrical procedure of the music, also to be quasi symmetrically arranged (that is,

proceeding first forwards and then in reverse order), to which end the corresponding events and accompanying incidents should be as closely juxtaposed as possible.²

—The following series of pictures (as the arrow indicates) will then result:



The music to this film (the *Ostinato-Allegro* of the "Symphonic Pieces") finally, after reaching a dynamic climax achieved through the tumultuous rising of *ostinato* sixteenth-note figures, comes through to a tranquil *pianissimo* which marks the middle of the drama and the turning-point in the action. From this point the music (exactly carried out in all voices) descends in the opposite direction, but still strictly adhering to the instrumentation of the beginning, and only the general character of the tone, in correspondence to the underlying mood of gloom, is altered by a general damping in the course of the diminishing dynamics.

In other respects also Berg has taken Wedekind's action as the occasion for subtle musical congruencies which deepen the psychological significance of the scenes and continually uncover new fine points in the

² In addition to the congruents listed of the principal events (as: Trial-Consultation, Arrest-Release) others of a smaller sort, even to the smallest details, should be shown; as: revolver-stethoscope, cartridge-phial, law-medicine, paragraph marks-cholera bacilli, chains-bandages, prison garb-hospital shirts, prison corridors-hospital halls, etc. The same would hold true with corresponding personages, as: judge and jury-doctors and students, policemen-nurses, etc.

relationships. Thus, for example, the men who contribute to Lulu's deepest humiliation in the last scene are represented by the same singers who in the first half took the parts of the men who came to their deaths through her (Medical-Councilor Goll, Schwarz the painter, Dr. Schoen). And thus with the simplest musical means is symbolized that revenge of fate which lets Lulu in return for the tortures she has inflicted on her victims now herself undergo terrible suffering.



As Berg himself has pointed out in the letter already cited, the strictest musical cohesion is achieved in *Lulu* by *deriving the entire musical action of the opera from a single twelve-tone row*. Before explaining Berg's method of procedure by means of musical examples, it might be well to make a few preliminary remarks on twelve-tone technique in general so that the nature of this technique, which seems so mysterious to many, may be quite clear and easily grasped:

The idea underlying the working method known as the twelve-tone technique is that the tonal matter must be kept free from any predetermined relationships suggesting tonality and therefore no single tone of the twelve available tones in the chromatic scale may attain predominance. The need for a "tonality-free" method of writing is no arbitrarily invented one, but comes at the end of a long historical development which has gradually broken the bonds exacted by the old tonalities (major and minor systems, ecclesiastical modes). After a short period of "atonality" (the term "atonal" is really meaningless and were better, in Schoenberg's view, replaced by the word "pantonal"), in which the shaping of larger forms was impossible because the necessary laws of construction were lacking, new bonds have now been imposed upon the tone-material through the twelve-tone system, bonds which once again permit of the creation of large musical forms.

Music that proceeds in a "tonality-free" manner will be most securely achieved if no one of the twelve different tones available in the octave is allowed to return before all the other eleven have appeared. The twelve-tone sequence once thus chosen becomes the *row* upon which the composition in question is built. It has not the character of a scale in the sense of the old tonal system, since its first note, for instance, is not to be a key-note—according to the principles of the row's origin—nor is any other of its tones. Neither, therefore, do the tones of the

row have the character of steps that stand in definite functional relationships to each other. Thus the row is no substitute for the organization of tone-material given in the tonal system; no such organization is recognizable in the new system as yet. But it is to be borne in mind that the twelve-tone row itself, being the so-called "underlying form," in extended use takes over certain key-note functions, since the entire progress of the music can be related to it.³

Neither is the twelve-tone row a musical theme, if we understand by "theme" a definite musical structure, the three dimensions of which (melody, harmony, and rhythm) are absolutely predetermined. But if by "theme" we understand the essential *principle upon which a piece is constructed*, then we must grant to the underlying form given in the twelve-tone row a thematic character.

Let us state at once that this apparently very rigid principle of the row naturally leads to very rich and complicated forms as soon as the row is inflected in several voices simultaneously, transposed to other tone-levels, and used in its mirror and crab forms. With the use of several voices it will of course become apparent, taking the piece as a whole, that one tone will be repeated before its eleven followers have had a chance to appear, even though the principle of succession is preserved in the prime row itself. The danger that this tone may come to predominate is simply counteracted in some other way, and perhaps it is out of such attempts that the secret of the new organization of material, which composers have been able to make use of but not yet to formulate, will some day reveal itself.

The technique of the row, then, is not a system but a working expedient. As yet the row does nothing more—and is not supposed to do more—than give the course of tonality-free music, as has become necessary with the disintegration of the tonal system, an inherent constructive sense and continuity. That the recognition of this technique is entirely superfluous to the instinctive understanding of a piece of music so composed, needs no particular emphasis. So far as such a composition represents the continuous alteration of the inexhaustible form-

³ The step from keynote to underlying form may be said to be analogous to the step accomplished by Einstein in his general theory of relativity in passing from the rectilinear, right-angled Cartesian co-ordinates to the curvilinear, oblique-angled Gaussian co-ordinates; the invariability of the underlying form in twelve-tone music corresponding to the invariable line-element in the relativity theory. This invariable quantity is also made clear since in twelve-tone music, besides the underlying form itself, only the mirror, the crab, and the crab-mirror of that form occur, that is, only those transformations in which the geometric form of the twelve-tone row remains unaltered.

possibilities of the row, it becomes self-evident that the higher form of this type of composition will be the variation in its broadest sense. There may be a deeper organic significance here, however, in that it appeals as thoroughly well-planned and reasonable that the whole creative process in this new organization of tone-material should derive from a single homogeneous primal cell which contains the tone-material complete (namely, the twelve half-tones of the chromatic scale).⁴

Discussing the historical emergence of the twelve-tone technique and the freedom possible to the composer who allies himself with it, Theodor Wieselgrund-Adorno once aptly expressed himself:

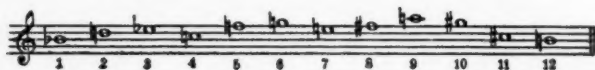
It is characteristic of the constitution of Schoenberg's music that, although it is more closely linked to material evolution than any other, it is never to be understood as mere consummation of material necessity, but rather takes over its material in a spirit of historical dialectic. Thus Schoenberg's twelve-tone technique, then, is no natural ordering of the tones that may, far back of history, stand written in the stars; nor is it a positive technique of rationalized procedure like Cubism, which forgets specific differences in material. Rather is it the rational consummation of a historic urge or compulsion, the undertaking of the most advanced consciousness to cleanse its content of the matter left by organic decay. The twelve-tone technique is not historically unfounded, but has its manifest base in the condition of the material Schoenberg found to hand and renovated. It does not attempt to recast this decayed material in some unexpected new order that would necessarily be empty, but rather expunges from it every last illusion of order so as to make room for a free constructive imagination. It is in no sense a definite procedure for composing, but is the truly historical *preformation* of the material which has now to be carried out. It is to be explained not mathematically but historically, and is not concerned with the realm of mathematically-imposed musical forms *but endeavors to make possible the freedom of the composer*. . . . The picture of twelve-tone technique that follows herefrom departs fundamentally from tradition. It is no new technique for composing that would have made it easy for all good fellows who neatly wrote combinations of its rows to compose music. For these it has indeed made composition more difficult than before in that it has laid back upon the material itself what before seemed to be the composer's task. What they used to think legitimized them as composers is now barely enough to enable them to organize their material in some such way as it used to be organized through tonality; whereas, clearly, twelve-tone organization does not float like an abstract presupposition over the work in hand, but every twelve-tone row is indissolubly linked into the composition that is built out of it.



⁴ The brief summary of twelve-tone technique here given is based in the main on lectures given in 1933 and 1934 (in Vienna and Zürich) by Anton Webern and Ernst Křenek. A more extended treatment of the subject may be found in *Schoenberg's Tone-Rows and the Tonal System of the Future* by Richard S. Hill, in the January, 1936, issue of *The Musical Quarterly*.

The following examples will show how Berg made use of the twelve-tone technique. In compiling them I had the good fortune to be initiated into these "mysteries" by the composer himself, through the medium of the manuscript score of the opera.

Berg used as the basis for the music of *Lulu* the following *prime row* (fundamental form):



From this row then is derived, for example, an important motive consisting of four three-note chords, the appearance of which is associated with the character of Lulu which, as we know, plays a great rôle in the work:



From these "constituent harmonies" a scale-like structure is obtained.



This, when rhythmically set (in dance-like form), yields an important theme applied to the figure of Lulu:



New rows are derived from the prime row by simple procedure. Taking, for instance, every *seventh* tone of the prime row, this new row appears:



The new row thus produced is typical for the figure of Alva, and when formulated in rhythm gives the rondo-theme that dominates the first of the "Symphonic Pieces," dedicated to Alva:



This theme has a definite "minor" character, which is also typical throughout for the elegiac figure of Alva.

Again, taking every *fifth* tone of the prime row, this new row results:

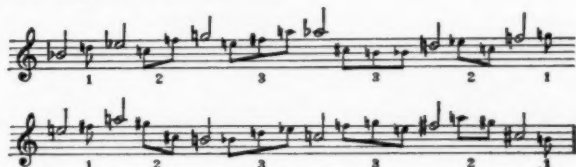


Against the held fifth *g-d* this gives:



the pentatonic scheme characteristic for the Countess Geschwitz.

By another method easily perceived, the prime row yields the row used for the figure of Dr. Schoen:



And out of this row comes the sonata-theme of Dr. Schoen:



In this, as befits the strong nature of the man, a "major" character predominates.

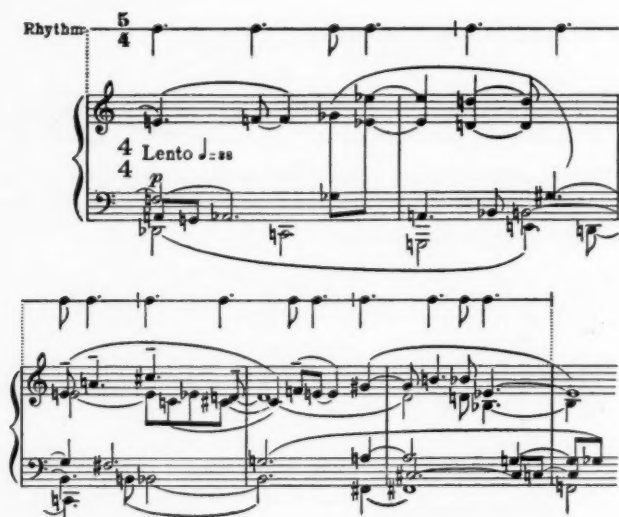
It is characteristic for Berg's particular style of composing that he only seldom presents important musical occurrences in finished form, for the most part developing them out of the prime material or leading them back into it right before the listener. Thus, for example, one

scene (the death of the painter Schwarz) is built upon a single rhythm:

$\frac{5}{4}$ J. J. J. J. , a scene which Berg calls "Monoritmica". He derives this controlling rhythm from the prime row as follows:



the theme itself reading:



Over and above this the whole scene, corresponding with the action on the stage (the enlightenment of Schwarz by Dr. Schoen and the revelation of his suicide), is built in strictly two-part form: its intensity increases through eighteen sharply detached grades in tempo from Grave to Prestissimo, while from the high-point (the suicide) on, the return from Prestissimo to Grave is very gradually effected. (This scene makes very special demands on the conductor's art!)

If this scene provides an example of the upbuilding of a thematic

figure from the elements of the row, the opposite procedure is illustrated in, for instance, the death of Dr. Schoen, where his sonata-theme (quoted at the bottom of p. 395) eventually works itself back into the prime row.

Instrumentation also performs important dramatic functions in Berg's musical setting of *Lulu*. Certain grotesque figures in the story are characterized by a quite definite instrumental color that is consistently maintained throughout. To the scurrilous personality of old Schigolch, for example, belongs a chamber-music ensemble which, though its constituents sometimes vary, always keeps the same general cast. Furthermore, a chromatic motive is characteristic for this personage, the elements of which are derived from the example at the top of p. 396, in the following manner:



Other figures, again, like the procurer Casti Piani, are accompanied by strings *concertante*, while the brutal athlete Rodrigo is assigned a robust piano solo. The consistent use of such characteristic instruments goes so far that a great argument between Casti Piani and Rodrigo is musically carried out in the third act in the form of a virtuoso cadenza between violin and piano.

As Casti Piani attempts to persuade Lulu to flee to a house of prostitution, the orchestra—as though in mockery of the pander's seductions, so thoroughly foreign to the true nature of Lulu—intones a serious chorale, while the solo violin continues its lascivious passages to the singing of Casti Piani—a nice example of profoundly psychological counterpoint:

A three-staff musical score. The top staff is for Solo Violin, showing a chromatic, ascending and then descending line with many grace notes and slurs. The middle staff is for Casti Piani, with lyrics: "Um so vor - tell - haf-ter eig - nost du dich für die". The bottom staff is for piano accompaniment, showing a simple harmonic structure with chords and a few moving lines.

Stell - ung die ich dir aus - ge - sucht ha - be.

Vcl. Solo

Drum

Solo Violin

Lulu

Bist du ver-rückt? Mir ei-ne Stell-ung ver-schaf-fen. Ich

Casti Piani

Vcl. Solo

sag-te dir doch, dass ich auch Mäd-chen-händ-ler bin.

3/4

The duet fragment here given leads over to a melody:



taken from a two-part lute-song composed by Wedekind himself. This melody plays a double rôle in the opera, providing the thematic material for four Variations which act as an interlude linking the last two scenes of the closing act, while the individual Variations crop up again just before the catastrophe as musical visions and serve as a shadowy reminder of the whole *via dolorosa* Lulu has been treading.

In this interlude (which forms the fourth of the "Symphonic Pieces") Wedekind's song, its melody-tones always repeated note for note, undergoes, with rising intensity from Variation to Variation and with constantly new enrichment of material, the following course of development: (I quote the notes which Berg himself gave me in the autumn of 1934 for the program of the first performance of the "Symphonic Pieces" in Berlin, under Erich Kleiber, and which have been frequently reprinted):

The first Variation (Maestoso, in the $\frac{3}{4}$ time of the theme) sets in with a purely tonal (C Major) pomp and stir of instrumentation. The barrel-organ tone-quality signifies the false flash and lying glory of that Parisian *demi-monde* so foreign to Lulu's true nature.—The second Variation (Grazioso, $\frac{4}{4}$) points—in polytonal structure—the influence this world has found in Lulu; even its brutality undergoes an agreeable change through Lulu's disposition.—In contrast, then, the third Variation (Funèbre, $\frac{5}{4}$)—suspending tonality altogether—brings a further stage in her road of suffering: Alva's sacrificial death.—In the fourth Variation (Affettuoso, $\frac{7}{4}$)—by constitutional means provided in the twelve-tone row—the great emotional climax of this symphonic movement is reached. Only now (suggestively) does the theme of these Variations appear in its original harmonic and rhythmic form; as though played upon a hand-organ it rises from the alley up to Lulu's mean attic chamber, the scene of her deepest debasement.



In bringing to a close this first attempt to discuss on the basis of the pertinent musical examples certain passages from Berg's opera—an attempt, let me remind the reader, the purpose of which has been merely to give an idea of the way Berg handles the twelve-tone technique in this work—I should like to call attention to one more part of Lulu's rôle (from her last great explanation-scene with Dr. Schoen, just before his murder) the text of which in a measure explains the inner nature of the heroine:

*If people have done away with themselves for my sake,
that does not diminish my worth.—
You knew as well why you took me to wife
as I knew why I took you for my husband.—
You had deceived your best friends with me,
you could not well deceive yourself with me too.—
If you bring me the evening of your life as offering,
you have had my whole youth in return for it.—
I have never in the world wanted to appear as anything other
than what I have been taken for.
And I have never in the world been taken for anything other
than what I am.*

This "Song of Lulu," handled throughout as a "coloratura aria," represents the lyric high-point of the "Symphonic Pieces" and symbolizes more clearly than anything else, in its soaring melody symmetrically fitted to each couplet, the figure of Lulu as the composer saw it and carried it out in his opera, a figure that stands outside and beyond all human moral conceptions. "A somnambulist of love": so the Viennese poet Karl Kraus, who presented the first performance of "Pandora's Box" in May 1905, called Lulu. Berg was present at this performance and to it he owed his first and strongest impressions of Wedekind's drama. The speech Kraus made on this occasion also came to be decisive for Berg's attitude to the subject-matter, and Wedekind's characterization of Lulu as "a soul rubbing the sleep from her eyes in the beyond," which Kraus quoted at the beginning of his talk, also became the motto for the music Berg composed to the tragedy of Lulu. Dreams they are that the poet formed into words and into which the composer wove his music. And this is music of an expressive power never yet heard, of a sheerly ungraspable intensity of feeling restrained by severest formal discipline and most masterly technical ability.

Alban Berg's tragic early death means the abrupt cutting off of a

rich life from which we had still many contributions of deep musical significance to expect. But in *Lulu*, his last completed work,⁵ Berg has left us a precious legacy, the realization of which in living tone would be the finest consolation we could offer. Any discussion of Berg's creative genius, undertaken so soon after the passing of the noble man and artist that he was, can only close with the ardent wish that *Lulu* may soon be presented to the public in a first performance worthy of its creator.

⁵ As has been indicated above, Berg left a complete and very carefully worked out preliminary score of *Lulu*. Only the instrumentation of a few places in the middle of the last act was not finished and this could easily be carried out from the given material by some friend familiar with Berg's work.

Editor's Note: Universal Edition, the publishers of *Lulu*, have announced that Arnold Schoenberg is completing the instrumentation, and that the opera is to receive its world première in Zürich next November.

(Translated by M. D. Herter Norton)

JOHN FORBES'S "SONGS AND FANCIES"

By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY

JOHN FORBES'S *Songs and Fancies*—commonly miscalled *Forbes's Cantus* or *The Aberdeen Cantus*—holds a unique place in the record of Scottish printing and musical culture. William Daune¹ rightly called it "the one publication of secular music" in Scotland in the seventeenth century, and the editor of the New Club's facsimile² distinguished it as "the first known published collection in which Scottish Songs are found." Its title-page associates it with the Aberdeen Music School, and Forbes's high-flown Prefaces invite us to accept it as evidence of that institution's pre-eminent musical culture. On all three counts the work merits closer examination than it has received. The fact that the unique copy of its original edition is owned by an American library suggests the appropriateness of *The Musical Quarterly* for this discussion.

THE THREE EDITIONS

Forbes's *Songs and Fancies* passed through three editions in exactly twenty years: the first was published in 1662, the second in 1666, the third in 1682. They register Aberdeen's reaction from the Puritan tyranny, which, in the language of Forbes's first Preface, had robbed her, in the period of its ascendancy, "of that famous Ornament of Vocall and Instrumentall Musick, which allwayes She could have claimed, as the proper native and heritable Jewell of the Place." Of the first edition the sole surviving copy was sold at the Britwell sale in London, on December 15, 1919, for £150, and is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino, California.³ Lady Dorothy Ruggles-Brise, however, owns a closely contemporary manuscript of the book which bears the signatures of Robert and Gilbert Melville,⁴ one or both of whom were probably the sons of Andrew Melville, Master of the Aberdeen Music School from 1636 to 1640. The Britwell copy had acquired additional value from the mistaken conjecture that one of

¹ *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, p. 20. ² P. iii.

³ A photostat of the book is in King's College Library, Old Aberdeen.

⁴ So I am informed by Mr. Harry M. Willsher, Librarian of University College, Dundee.

its melodies (No. 9: "Remember, O thou man") was the source of the English National Anthem.

The 1662 edition of Forbes's *Songs and Fancies* is an oblong volume of 30 sheets folded into 120 unnumbered pages. The title-page, beneath the word CANTUS, bears the inscription:

Songs and Fancies,/To Thre, Foure, or/Five Partes,/both apt for Voices/and Viols./With a briefe Introduc/tion of Musick,/As is taught in the Mu/sick-Schole of Aber/dene by T. D. Mr./of Musick./Aberdene. Printed by Iohn Forbes, and are to be sold at his/Shop. Anno Dom. M,DC,LXII.

The title is enclosed within a woodcut design which exhibits on the left a woman in the costume of the period playing a lute, and on the right a man similarly habited holding an open part-book.

The initials "T.D." were expanded into "Thomas Davidson" in the second edition, and disappeared altogether from the title-page of the third: their owner was by then deceased. His family had controlled the Music School for more than half a century before Forbes published his first edition. His father Patrick Davidson, Master of the School from 1607 to 1635, is described by Gideon Guthrie⁵ as "an exquisite musician, bred in Italy, and was forced to leave Italy upon the Acct. of a young Princess, who was much in love with him." His daughter married Andrew Melville, whom Guthrie eulogizes as the man "who refined the Musick at Aberdeen, composed the common [psalm] tunes, and prickt⁶ all the other music . . . assisted by his father in Law." He served Davidson as his "Doctor" or assistant, followed him as Master in 1636, and was succeeded by his brother-in-law Thomas Davidson in 1640. With considerable probability Davidson can be regarded as the musical editor of Forbes's first and second editions. But the New Club's facsimile of the 1682 edition wrongly names him as the author of the technical "Exposition" which prefaces all three issues.

The reverse of Forbes's 1662 title-page exhibits the arms of Bon-Accord (Aberdeen), a woodcut which served all three editions of *Songs and Fancies*, and also decorated Forbes's *Festival Songs* published in 1681, a rare copy of which is in the library of Lord Crawford and Balcarres at Haigh Hall. All four printings show a diagonal break from top to bottom of the design. In *Festival Songs* the block is accompanied by the following lines:

⁵ *A Monograph*, p. 122. ⁶ *I.e.*, harmonized.

*Apelles, staring long, did look upon
The Learning, Policy, and Generous Mind
Of that brave City, plac'd 'twixt Dee and Done;
But how to Paint It, he could never find:
For still he stood, in judging which of Three,
A Court, A Colledg, or A Burgh It Be.*

The lines are also found in Alexander Skene's *Memorialls* (1685), and are there⁷ attributed to William Douglas, Advocate, of Edinburgh.

To the right and left of the arms of Bon-Accord in Forbes's first edition are the initials of Lord Provost William Gray, to whom, along with the bailies, dean of guild, treasurer, "and the rest of the Honourable Councell of the City of Aberdene," Forbes dedicated the work in a characteristically extravagant epistle, which eulogized the city as "the Sanctuary of Sciences, the Manse of the Muses, and Nurserie of all Artes." In music, such was her eminent proficiency, that "to have been Borne or Bred in Aberdene, hath been sufficient Argument and Testimony, to advance any to the Profession of that Science else-where." "Yea," Forbes proceeds with gathering boldness, "how many have come of purpose from the outmost partes of this Iland, to hear the chearfull Psalms, and heavenly Melody of Bon-Accord." True, her reputation had of late been tarnished by misguided zealots "who had monopolized Crotchets to their own Pates," preferring "that their Vocal-Worship might be consonant to the harsh howling of their Hell-hatched Commonwealth." But, now that it had pleased God "to bring all things to their ancient Order," Forbes declared his eagerness, "at least with the Ephesian-Bee," to "contribute [his] little Wax, and sillie Bumb, to the Hyve of Bon-Accord's Common-well," hoping incidentally by his means "the paines of [her] Children, in attaining the first elements of Musick may be lesned, and the Scarr-craw of difficultie taken off the Hinges of the School-doore."

With this purpose in view, Forbes provided each of his editions with "An Exposition of the Gamme," the complicated musical notation then in vogue, along with a print of the "Guidonian Hand," a diagram of "The Scale of the Gam," and a catechism expounding the Clefs, Moods, Degrees, and Concorde.⁸ By implication the "Exposition" is attributed to Thomas Davidson on Forbes's title-page, and it has been generally

⁷ P. 287.

⁸ The "Exposition" was slightly revised for the 1666 and 1682 editions. Cf. the section on Concorde.

assumed to be by him. In fact it is an almost verbatim and unacknowledged transcription of an English manual—Thomas Morley's *A plaine and easie Introduction to practick Musicke*, published in 1597 and issued in a second edition in 1608. Morley's method probably had been used in the Aberdeen School from Andrew Melville's Mastership: for the inventory of his library⁹ includes "Ane grytt book writtin of the airt of musick," which Forbes's contents indicate as Morley's treatise. For they repeat Morley's paragraphs almost verbatim. The observable differences are (a) in the section on "Moods," in which, though the letterpress is not uniform, the diagrams are identical; (b) in the section on "Degrees," in which the two texts are similar as far as the definition of imperfect prolation; and (c) in the section on "Concords," in which Forbes's diagram of Rests and Pauses is not in Morley. Otherwise Forbes's Exposition is an unacknowledged translocation of which his public was certainly not aware.

These preliminary pages are followed by sixty-one "Songs," all but six of which are repeated in the second and third editions. Before dealing with them the general features of the later issues of the book must be examined.

The almost complete extinction of the first edition probably indicates that comparatively few copies of it were printed. But, if its circulation was restricted, it deserved and received civic commendation, if only for its unique typographical merit. Public appreciation expressed itself in the appointment (1662) of Forbes and his son John as official Printers to the civic Council, with the grant of a dwelling-house and printing office rent free,¹⁰ whose locality the title-page of Forbes's third edition reveals as "above the Meal-Market, at the Sign of the Towns Armes." Thus encouraged, Forbes produced his second edition in 1666 with the following title-page:

Cantus,/Songs and Fancies,/To Three, Four, or/Five Parts,/Both apt for
Voices and Viols./With a brief Introduction/to Musick,/As is taught by Thomas/
Davidson, in the Musick-/School of Aberdene./Second Edition, Corrected/and
Enlarged./Aberdene,/Printed by John Forbes, and are to be sold at his shop,/
Anno Domini M. D C. LXVI.

Interest in the new edition evidently was not confined to its home public. For the title-page of the Aberdeen University copy bears the printed addendum: "And are to be sold at Edinburgh by David Trench,

⁹ *Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Andrew Melville*, edited by William Walker, 1889.

¹⁰ William Kennedy's *Ms. Index of the Council Register* (Vol. 54, p. 365).

Book-seller." From the typographical standpoint the edition is inferior to its predecessor. The words of the Songs are crowded into three columns, in place of two, and the music staves are more niggardly spaced. The woodcuts and diagrams are identical and the elaborate capital letters at the beginning of each Song are generally the same. But the enlargement announced on the title-page is not evident. The preliminary matter is compressed into sixteen as against twenty pages, and there are 55 as against 61 Songs published in 1662, a subtraction not balanced by the substitution of three new pieces. In his dedicatory preface to the new volume Forbes expressed some dissatisfaction with the earlier edition.

I may confess ingenuously, when I looked deliberately on this my first Mephibosheth,¹¹ I offered the same as an object of pity, being so mank and maim in its chiefest parts, like a pittiful Emblem of Orpheus teared by the Thracian women, its vigor seemed to wither, its tender hands to dry up, and whole body to vanish in a consumption; had I not called a Tymous Counsel of the most Expert in this Place, who, diligently turning over their old Records, and rifling the labors of their Ancestors, unanimously and so chearfully did contribute all their pains, that now being freed of all the noxious humors that were preying on its vitals, its wants are made up, defects supplied, its dried hands received moisture, and strength diffused so thorow the whole limbs, that it dare show it self to the Publick on its own leggs.

Since from the musical standpoint Forbes's 1666 edition is in no way superior to its predecessor, it can be inferred that the criticism to which it was subjected, and to which Forbes yielded, was focussed on its resort to English to the neglect of native materials. Hence the exclusion of gems of the English School and the substitution of the musically worthless "Pleugh Song" and its two companions.

In 1681 Forbes published a volume of another character under the title *Festival Songs, or Certain Hymns, Adopted to the Principall Christian Solemnities, of Christmass, the Passion, Easter, the Ascension and Pentecost. Whereunto are adjoined some Lines of a Letany*. Addressing "the Christian Reader" in his Preface, Forbes observed: "Though I can pretend to no great gift of Poesy; Yet, that I might not incur the guilt of a neglected Talent, (how mean soever it be) I Iudged my self Oblidged to improve it in some measure to the Glory of God, and the Good of Others." The Songs afford evidence of his "gift of poesy," in particular of religious verse, and support the conjecture that his pen

¹¹ Cf. II Samuel ix. 3 and 13. Mephibosheth was "lame on both his feet."

also contributed to the texts of his *Songs and Fancies*. The religious stanzas which form the second part of Nos. 1, 14, and 36 especially suggest his authorship.

Meanwhile the Music School had received a new Master. Thomas Davidson died six years before the publication of *Festival Songs*, and was succeeded (November 24, 1675¹²) by a Frenchman known as Lewes (or Louis) de France. He came from Edinburgh, where he was known as a successful teacher, and for some years directed the curriculum of the Aberdeen School.¹³ His Mastership is associated with an interesting manuscript¹⁴: "A Music Booke. Wherein are aires to thrie, four and five parts by M^r Clandam and other fyne peeeces in french Italian and Spanish. Composed by the best maisters of france, as also other fyne scotish and English aires old and new taught by Louis de france now musick maister of Aberdein, having been the scholler of the Famous musician M^r Lambert, being the King of fraunce chiefe musician for the method and manner to conduct the voyces." Mr. Clandam undoubtedly indicates M. Claude (or Claudin) le Jeune (d.c. 1600), one of the master musicians of the French (or Flemish) Renaissance. Louis de France's master is easily identified as Michel Lambert (d. 1696), father-in-law of the more famous Lully.

Guided by this new-comer, Forbes published the third and final edition of his *Songs and Fancies* in the early spring of 1682. For, on April 19 of that year the civic Council voted £100 Scots as a gratuity to him "for his dedicacione to the provest, baillies, and counsell of ane musick book for instructiōne of youth, printed and sett out by him."¹⁵ The volume bears the title:

Cantus./Songs and Fancies,/To Three, Four, or/Five Parts,/both apt for
Voices and Viols./With a brief Intro/duction to Musick./As is taught in the
Mu-/sick-School of Aberdeen./The Third Edition, much/Enlarged and Cor-
rected./Printed in Aberdeen by John Forbes,/and are to be sold at his Printing-
House above the Meal-/Market at the Sign of the Towns-Armes. 1682.

Announced as "much enlarged," the book contains 116 as against the 100 pages of its predecessor, while the three pieces introduced in 1666 gave place to six Italian Songs and seven English Airs, the only pieces in all three editions of which the under parts (two) are provided.

¹² Council Register 1643-1747 (Burgh Records Society).

¹³ Cf. Maidment, *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 263. He was again in office at Edinburgh on September 8, 1684.

¹⁴ Now in Edinburgh University Library (Laing Mss. Div. III. 491).

¹⁵ Council Register, p. 302.

The reverse of the title-page bears the arms of Bon-Accord, as in 1662 and 1666, but in the company of the following lines:

*Considering well, Your Honours hath
Much Zeal and perfect Love
To Graces all, Who by much Faith,
Obtains all Things above:
For Harmonie in Bon-Accord
Hath been this Place Intent;
Yea, Grace Divine, and Musick fine
Your Persons still present.*

The lines are a clumsy adaptation of part of the rhymed Preface addressed to Edward VI by Dr. Christopher Tye in his *Actes of the Apostles translated into Englyshe Metre*, published in 1553. They are quoted in John Playford's *Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1664), where Forbes found them. They read there as follows:

*Considering well, most Godly King,
The Zeal and perfect Love
Your Grace doth bear to each good thing
That given is from above.
That such good things your Grace might move
Your Lute when ye assay,
Instead of Songs of wanton Love
These stories then to play,
etc.*

The reverse of the inner title-page bears the salutation "God save King Charles," and beneath it the royal arms and dedication:

*To Scotland's, England's, France and Ireland's King:
Great Emperour of Europe's Greatest Isles:
Monarch of Hearts and Arts, and every Thing
Beneath Boötes, many Thousand Myles:
Upon whose Head, Honour and Fortune smyles:
About whose Brows, clusters of Crowns do spring:
Whose Faith Him Champion of the Faith En-styles.
Whose Wisdom's Fane o're all the World doth Reign:
Long live King Charles in all Magnificence,
The Rod of Vice, and Vertues Recompence.*

The Preface, addressed as before to the civic authorities, repeats from the first edition the extravagant eulogy of Aberdeen as the pre-eminent abode of the Muses. But the book is remarkable for an eloquent and learned disquisition upon the function of Music both as a vehicle of

worship and also "as a Temporal Blessing, to Recreate and Cheer men after long Study and weary Labour in their Vocations." Forbes invokes the testimonies of Bede, King David, Luther, St. Augustine, King Alfred, Edward VI, Queen Elizabeth, and James VI. A scholarly disquisition, but not original! Forbes appropriated it from Playford's *Brief Introduction* already mentioned, the fourth edition of which (1664) included for the first time the essay "Of Musick in General, and of its Divine and Civil Uses" from which Forbes borrowed without acknowledgment. A brief letter "To all Ingenuous and true Lovers of Musick" concluded the prefatory matter. It announced Forbes's intention "very shortly to Publish abroad, severall other Musically Songs and Ayres of various Kynds, both Catches, and Parts-Songs, which are not readily to be found within this Kingdom." The promise was not fulfilled.

THE SOURCES

The three editions of Forbes's *Songs and Fancies* contain in all 77 pieces—61 one-part Songs in the first; 3 additional one-part pieces in the second; and 13 additional three-part Songs in the third. Dauney states incorrectly that their texts are for the most part by Scottish poets of the sixteenth century, especially Alexander Scott and Alexander Montgomerie. In fact, only one of Scott's poems—"How should my feeble body fure" (No. 15)—is included by Forbes. Montgomerie is represented by only four—"When as the Greeks did enterprise" (No. 5); "Lyk as the dumb Solsequium" (No. 18); "Even death behold I breath" (No. 24); and "Away, vaine world, bewitcher of my heart" (No. 35). Besides these poems the number of texts which can be deemed Scottish is small. Research has failed to find the following eight elsewhere than in Forbes's print; for that reason, though not confidently, they may be attributed to Scottish pens:

- ¹⁶No. 6. "You lovers all that love would prove."
- No. 8. "When chyle cold age shall cease upon thy blood."
- No. 26. "I love great God above."
- No. 28. "Where art thou, hope."
- No. 36. "When May is in her pryme."
- No. 37 (1662 only). "The time of youth sore I repent."
- No. 42 (1662 only). "Ye gods of love looke down in pity."
- No. 43[41]. "There is a thing that much is used."

¹⁶ The numerals accord with the order of the Songs in the 1662 edition. The bracketed numerals indicate the position of the Song in 1666 and 1682. If no bracketed numeral is given the Song holds the 1662 position in all three editions.

In another category are nineteen texts which are found in Scottish manuscripts of earlier date than Forbes's first edition and appear to lack English associations:

- No. 1. "Give care doth cause men cry."
- No. 2. "O lusty May, with Flora queen."
- No. 3. "Intill a mirthfull May morning."
- No. 4. "In a garden so green."
- No. 7. "The thoughts of men do daily change."
- No. 16. "No wonder is suppose my weeping eyes."
- No. 19. "The gowans are gay, my jo."
- No. 21. "When Father Adam first did flee."
- No. 22. "My bailfull briest in blood all bruist."
- No. 29. "Woe worth the time and eke the place."
- No. 34. "Joy to the person of my love."
- No. 38[37]. "Brave Mars begins to rouse."
- No. 41[40]. "Begone, sweet night."
- No. 50[47]. "Remember me, my dear."
- No. 51[48]. "How now, shepherd, what means that?"
- No. 53[50]. "Care, away, goe thou from me."
(1666 only). "My hearty service to you, my lord" (Pleugh Song).
- (1666 only). "All sones of Adam, rise up with me."
(1666 only). "Trip and go, hey."¹⁷

Thus, of the 77 texts 27 are definitely or conjecturally drawn from Scottish sources. The remaining 50, as will be shown, Forbes borrowed, generally with their melodies, from English prints. In a few cases the words thus derived are set to other melodies than those with which they are associated in the English print—namely, Nos. 11, 13, 14, 17, 59[54] and the six Italian Songs in the 1682 edition. In three cases (Nos. 25, 39[38], 57[52]) Forbes's words are found in English prints which lack a musical setting.

Forbes's English Songs are generally anonymous. Of those in the 1662 edition only five are definitely assigned to an author:

- No. 17. "What if a day, or a month," to Thomas Campian.
- No. 27. "The lowest trees have tops," to Sir Edward Dyer.
- No. 31. "Though your strangesse frets my heart," to Sir Walter Raleigh.
- No. 54[51]. "There was a time when sillie bees," to Robert Earl of Essex.
- No. 59[54]. "You minor beauties of the night," to Sir Henry Wotton.

¹⁷ It is worthy of record that Thomas Oliphant's Ms. Index in the British Museum (Egerton Mss. 2422) is unable to trace nearly half of Forbes's texts elsewhere than in his *Songs and Fancies*. Among them are all those mentioned in the foregoing two categories.

Of the seven English Airs in the 1682 edition, No. 5, "Gather your rosebuds," is by Robert Herrick.

The larger number of the Songs in Forbes's anthology are found in Scottish manuscripts of earlier date than or contemporary with Forbes's first edition. I have collated the following:

1. *The Lute Book of Robert Gordon of Straloch* (1627-29). It survives in a copy made by George Farquhar Graham in 1839, preserved in the Scottish National Library (Ms. 349).¹⁸ Some account of it is given in Nelly Diem's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schottischen Musik im XVII Jahrhundert nach bisher nicht veröffentlichten Manuskripten* (1919). In it are found the melodies of twelve of Forbes's pieces—Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 32, 41[40], 57[52].

2. *Dr. John Leyden's collection of Pastoral Ballads* (1639), in the Scottish National Library (Adv. Ms. 5.2.14). In a note, dated "Edin^r March 5, 1800," John Leyden states that the Ms. was exposed at the sale of the library of Mr. Cranston, Minister of Ancrum, in 1788. Leyden acquired it from one of the executors, who told him that it was believed to have belonged originally to a Border schoolmaster. In February 1795 Leyden lent it to Alexander Campbell, at that time engaged on his Introduction to Scottish poetry. In it are found the melodies of eleven of Forbes's Songs—Nos. 22, 24, 25, 29, 32, 34, 35 (to other words), 41[40], 50[47], 51[48], 53[50]. A description of the manuscript is given by Nelly Diem, *op. cit.* pp. 21-24.

3. *The Skene. Ms.* (1615-20), a collection of "ancient Scottish melodies . . . of the reign of James VI," is now in the Scottish National Library (Adv. Ms. 5.2.15), the gift of Miss Elizabeth Skene, and is described by William Daune (Bannatyne Club, 1838). Among its melodies are seven found in Forbes—Nos. 13, 14, 17, 34, 35 (to other words), 51[48], 57[52].

4. *The James Guthrie* (d. 1661) *Ms.* in Edinburgh University Library, contains a number of pieces for some member of the Viol family and is contemporary with Forbes's first edition. It includes the music of Forbes's No. 34. Cf. Nelly Diem, *op. cit.* pp. 24-27.

5. *Sir William Mure of Rowallan's vocal Ms.*, in Edinburgh University Library, includes among its melodies Forbes's Nos. 17, 18, 20, 24, 60. Mure of Rowallan's Lute Book, also in the Edinburgh Library appears to have belonged to Anna Hay, who married the Earl of Winton in 1609, and later to her sister Mary Hay, who married the Earl of Buccleuch in 1616 and died in 1631. It contains none of Forbes's Songs.

6. *Sir Richard Maitland's Ms.* (1550-85), in the Pepys Collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge, contains the words of Forbes's No. 7. They are printed in the Maitland Folio Ms. Ed. W. A. Craigie for the Scottish Text Society.

7. *Louis de France's "Musick Booke"*, in Edinburgh University Library (Laing Ms. Div. III. 491), formerly owned by a member of the Keith-Marischal family. The Ms. contains melodies old and new taught by Louis de France "now" Music

¹⁸ Another copy by G. F. Farquhar is found there (Adv. Ms. 5.2.18).

Master of Aberdeen. He succeeded Thomas Davidson in 1675 and demitted office in 1682 on his return to Edinburgh. Included in the Ms. are nine of Forbes's Songs—Nos. 2, 3, 4, 14, 17, 50[47], 59[54], English Airs (1682) Nos. 6 and 7.

8. *The John Squyer Ms.* (1696-1701), in Edinburgh University Library, is of later date than Forbes, but is of value as showing the popularity of a number of Forbes's pieces, of which it contains fourteen—Nos. 9, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 29, 34 (title), 50[47], 53[50], 57[52], 58[53], 59[54], and No. 7 of the English Airs (1682).

9. *Thomas Wood's Psalter*, in Edinburgh University Library. The part-books contain as *addenda* a number of secular melodies, among which are eighteen used by Forbes—Nos. 1, 2, 9, 13, 16, 17, 18, 25, 29, 31, 32, 33, 45[43], 52[49], 59[54], and also the three additions to the 1666 edition. Wood's Psalm books were begun in 1562 and the latest compositions are dated 1578. Most of the secular *addenda* are in another hand and can be dated *circa* 1600-20.

10. *The Andrew Blaikie Ms.* The Central Library, Dundee, has an incomplete copy of two Mss. of melodies arranged for viola da gamba, formerly belonging to Andrew Blaikie, engraver in Paisley, dated respectively 1683 and 1692. The latter includes the melodies of Forbes's Nos. 17 and 34.¹⁹

11. *The Richard Jackson Ms.* (1623), in Edinburgh University Library. This volume of "Blooms and Blossoms" contains the words (only) of a number of pieces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It appears to have been compiled *circa* 1600-1630, and includes Forbes's Nos. 38[37], 55 (1662 only), and No. 7 of the English Airs (1682).

12. *The Panmure Ms.* Mr. Harry Willsher, Librarian of University College, Dundee, describes the incomplete transcript of a Ms. at Panmure House made by the late Alexander Hutcheson in 1895. The first half is fairly early seventeenth century and the second half was compiled towards the end of that century by Robert Edwards, a local parish minister. Included in it are sixteen of Forbes's Songs—Nos. 2, 5, 6 (other words), 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21 (words), 24, 25, 29, 32, 39[38], 50[47], 53[50] (words), 61[55].

But the greater number of Forbes's 77 pieces can be positively traced to the published works of the English Madrigal and Lutenist Schools, whose works have been critically edited by Minor Canon E. H. Fellowes.²⁰ Forbes was indebted to the following 19 works, and, with rare exceptions, for both words and music:

1. Thomas Morley's *The First Booke of Ballets* (1595): for Forbes's No. 10. Cf. *English Madrigal School*, vol. iv.

2. John Dowland's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597): for Forbes's Nos. 20, 23, 47 (1662 only), 60 (1662 only). Cf. *Lutenist Song Writers*, first series, vols. i and ii.

3. John Dowland's *Second Booke of Ayres* (1600): for Forbes's Nos. 13, 40

¹⁹ I am again indebted to Mr. Willsher for the information.

²⁰ Published by Stainer and Bell, Berners Street, London, W. I.

- [39], 56 (1662 only), 61[55]. Cf. *Lutenist Song Writers*, first series, vols. v and vi.
4. Thomas Morley's *The First Booke of Ayres* (1600): for Forbes's No. 45 [43]. Cf. *Lutenist Song Writers*.
5. John Dowland's *Third Booke of Ayres* (1603): for Forbes's Nos. 27, 46 [44], 54[51]. Cf. *Lutenist Song Writers*, second series, vols. x and xi.
6. Richard Alison's *An Houres Recreation in Musicke* (1606): for Forbes's No. 17 (words). Cf. *English Madrigal School*, vol. xxxiii.
7. John Bartlett's *A Booke of Ayres* (1606): for Forbes's Nos. 30, 49[46]. Cf. *Lutenist Song Writers*, second series, vol. iii.
8. Henry Youll's *Canzonets to three voyces* (1608): for Forbes's No. 14 (words). Cf. *English Madrigal School*, vol. xxviii.
9. Robert Jones' *A musicall Dreame* (1609): for Forbes's Nos. 31, 33, 44 [42], 52 [49]. Cf. *Lutenist Song Writers*, second series, vol. xiv.
10. *Deuteromelia, or Second Part of Musicke's Melodie* (1609): for Forbes's No. 55 (1662 only).
11. William Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* (1611): for Forbes's No. 11 (words). Cf. *English Madrigal School*, vol. xvi.
12. Thomas Ravenscroft's *Melismata: Muscicall Phansies* (1611): for Forbes's No. 9.
13. Thomas Campian's *Fourth Booke of Ayres* (1617): for Forbes's No. 58 [53]. Cf. *Lutenist Song Writers*, second series, vol. xi.
14. Michael East's *Sixt Set of Bookes* (1624): for Forbes's No. 59[54] (words).
15. John Playford's *Select Muscicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1652): for Forbes's Italian Songs Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 (words) and English Airs Nos. 1, 3, 5.
16. John Playford's *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (1652): for Forbes's No. 48[45].
17. John Playford's *Select Muscicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1653): for Forbes's Italian Song No. 3 (words).
18. John Playford's *Select Muscicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1659): for Forbes's English Airs Nos. 2 and 7.
19. John Playford's *The Musical Companion* (1673): for Forbes's English Airs Nos. 4 and 6.

THE SONGS

From the sources of Forbes's anthology we can turn to the Songs themselves. The first edition provided 61, six of which were omitted from the two later publications. In the following catalogue they are named in the order they occupy in the 1662 edition. Numerals in brackets indicate their revised position in the 1666 and 1682 publications. If no bracketed numeral is given, the Song holds the same position in all three editions. It is not convenient to print the melodies here. But their opening phrases are given in a rough sol-fa notation which can readily be associated with the words.

1. *Give care doth cause men cry.*Key F ma. 4-2. $dr / m r d f / m$

The Song is in two Parts, the second being of a moral or religious character. Elsewhere than Forbes the Song is found only in Wood and Straloch.

2. *O lusty May, with Flora queen.*Key G ma. 3-2. $d d r / m r d / f m r d / t$

The words, wrongly attributed to Alexander Scott, date from 1508 and are mentioned in *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549). Cf. its Index s. v. "Songs" (p. 64). Also in the Bannatyne Ms. ii.300, and in Louis de France, Wood, and Panmure.

3. *Intill a mirthfull May morning.*Key F ma. 4-2. $s s s / s s s s / l$

The words are found in Wedderburn's *Gude and Godlie Ballads* (1567). The Song is in Straloch and Louis de France.

4. *In a garden so green.*Key G mi. 3-2. $m m l / s b a m$

Also in Straloch and Louis de France.

5. *When as the Greeks did enterprise.*Key F ma. 3-2. $d' d' d' / l s l t / d' t / d'$

Words by Alexander Montgomerie as "Before the Greeks durst enterprise" (Scot. Text Soc.). Also in Straloch and Panmure.

6. *You lovers all that love would prove.*Key G mi. 3-2. $l s e l / t t / l d' t l / s e$

The words are not found elsewhere than in Forbes. The tune appears in the Panmure Ms. to the words "O Ladie Venus, heire complayne." Forbes uses only half of it.

7. *The thoughts of men do daily change.*Key G mi. 4-2. $l l l s e m / d' r' m'$

Words in Sir Richard Maitland's Ms. (1550-85) in Magdalene College Library, Cambridge, edited by W. A. Craigie for the Scot. Text Soc. Forbes uses the melody for No. 14.

8. *When chyle cold age shall cease upon thy blood.*Key D mi. 3-2. $m l s e / l m m \widehat{m} d$
 $t, l, / l,$

Neither words nor melody are found elsewhere than in Forbes.

9. *Remember, O thou man.*Key G mi. 3-2. $l l l / d' t l / s l t / t s e m$

As a Christmas Carol in Ravenscroft, *Melismata: Muscull Phansies* (1611).

Paraphrased in Andrew Hart's edition of *Godly and Spiritual Songs* (1621). Also in Squyer and Wood

10. *Now is the month of maying.*Key G ma. 4-4. $d / d d r r / m m$

The Song is taken from Thomas Morley's *First Booke of Ballets* (1595). It occurs in none of the collated Scottish Mss.

11. *Let not, I say, the sluggish sleep.*Key A mi. 3-2. $m m l / s e l / t t / t$

The words, to another melody, are in William Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1611). The source of Forbes's melody is not discovered.

12. *Sathan, my foe, full of iniquity.*Key G mi. 4-2. $l l t d' t / l m' r' d' t$

A dialogue in fourteen stanzas between "Christ" and a "Sinner." In Forbes's 1662 edition the last stanza is wrongly assigned to Christ. The error was rectified in the other editions. Forbes's moral text is a parody of the original, whose melody, as "Fortune, my foe," is in Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book. Also in Squyer.

13. *If floods of tears could change my follies past.*Key G ma. 3-2. $m s s / s s / l s \widehat{s} f m / r$

To other music the words are in John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600). Forbes's melody is the tune of No. 20 *infra*, which appeared in Dowland's *First Booke* (1597). The Song is also in Skene and Wood.

14. *Come, love, lets walk in yonder spring.*Key G mi. 4-2. $l l l s e m / d' r' m'$

The words, to another melody, are in Henry Youll's *Canzonets* (1608). Forbes employs the melody of No. 7 *supra*. Also in Straloch, Skene, Louis de France, Squyer, and Panmure. Forbes adds a paraphrase of the secular words, entitled "Come, love, lets walk on Sion's Hill."

15. *How should my feeble body fure.*Key G ma. 4-2. $d m f s / f m r d t$

Words by Alexander Scott (Scot. Text Soc.). Also in Bannatyne Ms. (1568) iii.340. The melody also served for Scott's "Lament of the Maister of Erskyn" ("Depart, allace I most departe"). Also in Panmure.

16. *No wonder is suppose my weeping eyes.*Key F ma. 4-2. $s / m d r m / f f m m / r$

Elsewhere only in Wood.

17. *What if a day, or a month, or a year.*

Key G mi. 4-2. l se l t l t /d' r' d' t
The words, attributed to Thomas Campian, are in the Roxburgh Collection and *The Golden Garland of Princely Delights* (1620). The melody, also attributed to Campian, is in a volume of transcripts of virginal music by Sir John Hawkins, and in William Slatyer's *Psalmes or Songs of Zion* (1642) is prescribed as a psalm tune. Also in Skene, Louis de France, Squyer, Wood, Blaikie, Panmure, and Mure of Rowallan. To another melody the words are set in Richard Alison's *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (1606).

18. *Lyk as the dumb Solsequium.*

Key A mi. 3-2. m m m/m m/f m/f
Words by Alexander Montgomerie (Scot. Text Soc.). Song also in Straloch, Mure of Rowallan, Wood, Panmure.

19. *The gowans are gay, my jo.*

Key G ma. 4-2. m /f r r /m m d
Also in Straloch and Squyer.

20. *Sleep, wayward thoughts, and rest you with my love.*

Key G ma. 3-2. m s s /s s /l s /s f m /r
Words and melody in John Dowland's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597). Forbes uses the melody of No. 13 *supra*. Also in Straloch, Mure of Rowallan, Squyer, Panmure.

21. *When Father Adam first did flee.*

Key D mi. 3-2. l, d r /m l /se l t /l
Words in Panmure. The melody is not found elsewhere than in Forbes.

22. *My bailfull briest in blood all bruist.*

Key A mi. 3-2. m /l l /s f /m m /m
Also in Straloch and Leyden.

23. *Awake, sweet love, thou art returned.*

Key F ma. 3-2. d' t l /s f /m l /s
In John Dowland's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597). In none of the collated Scottish Mss.

24. *Even death behold I breath.*

Key F ma. 4-2. s m s /f m r
Words by Alexander Montgomerie, as "Even dead . . ." in Scot. Text Soc. Song also in Leyden, Mure of Rowallan, Panmure.

25. *Lyke as the lark within the marleon's foot.*

Key G mi. 4-2. l l l /l l /l l d' t l /se
Words first printed in Richard Tottel's

Miscellany (1557). The melody has a close affinity with that of No. 50 *infra* and is not found elsewhere in print. The Song is also in Leyden, Wood, Panmure.

26. *I love great God above.*

Key G ma. 3-2. m m m /s f m
Despite the opening line, the words are secular. The Song is not found elsewhere than in Forbes.

27. *The lowest trees have tops, the ant her gall.*

Key G mi. 4-2. m' /l t d' l m' d' /t t l
The first two stanzas, attributed to Sir Edward Dyer (d. 1607) are set to the melody in John Dowland's *Third Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1603). Forbes's additional two stanzas are entitled "The Answer." The Song is not found in the collated Scottish Mss.

28. *Where art thou, hope, that promised me releise.*

Key G mi. 4-2. l, d r /m m s ba /m r m
The Song is not found elsewhere.

29. *Woe worth the time and eke the place.*

Key F ma. 4-2. d d m d l, /t, l, t, d r
Also in Leyden, Squyer, Wood, Panmure.

30. *Who doth behold my mistres face.*

Key G ma. 4-4. d /m f s m /l l s
In John Bartlett's *A Booke of Ayres* (1606). The Song is not found in any of the collated Scottish Mss.

31. *Though your strangnesse frets my heart.*

Key G mi. 4-4. l t d' l /se l t
In Robert Jones' *A musicall Dreame* (1609). The words are attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh. Also in Wood.

32. *Come, sweet love, let sorrow cease.*

Key G mi. 3-2. m l /se l /t l se /l
In Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book the melody is entitled "Barrow Foster's Dream." Also known as "Phoebus is long over the sea." William Slatyer associated it with his *Psalmes or Songs of Zion* (1642). The words first appeared in *The Golden Garland of Princely Delights* (1620). The Song is also in Straloch, Leyden, Wood, and Panmure.

33. *Sweet Kate of late ran away and left me paining.*

Key G mi. 4-2. lsl t d' /tld' r' /d' r' m'
ba' s' m' /r' d' d'
In Robert Jones' *A musicall Dreame* (1609). Also in Wood.

34. *Joy to the person of my love.*

Key D mi. 4-2. l m f s d / r m fr m
The source of words and melody is not discovered. Also in Leyden, Skene, Blaikie, Guthrie, and Squyer (to other words).

35. *Away, vaine world, bewitcher of my heart.*

Key G mi. 4-2. l d' d' / t m' r' m' d'
r' / t

Words by Alexander Montgomerie "To the Toon of Sall I let hir goe" (Scot. Text Soc.). In Skene the tune is presented as "O sillie soul alee," and in Leyden as "Farewell, dear love, since thou wilt needs be gone." In Shakespeare (*Twelfth Night*, Act II. Sc. 3) as "Farewell, dear heart, since I must needs be gone."

36. *When May is in her pryme, then may each heart rejoyce.*

Key C ma. 4-2. d d r / m d s / s d' s / l m s

The words of "The second Parte" are of a religious or moral character. Neither words nor melody of the Song are discovered elsewhere.

37. *The time of youth sore I repent.*

Key A mi. 4-2. l l l / s t / l d' t l / s c
Omitted from Forbes's second and third editions. The melody apparently was inspired by those of No. 25 *supra* and No 50 *infra*. The words are of moral or religious character. The Song is not found elsewhere.

38[37]. *Brave Mars begins to rouse.*

Key C ma. 3-4. d' d' d' / s m d
The words also in Jackson. The melody is not found elsewhere than in Forbes.

39[38]. *Iurie came to Iebus-Salem.*

Key C ma. 4-4. m f s s / f m r d
Part I is a Carol of the Nativity. Part II treats of the Passion and Crucifixion. The text is from an English broadside. Words and melody also in Panmure.

40[39]. *White as lilles was her face.*

Key G mi. 4-2. l l d' l / r' d' t
In John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600). The Song is found in none of the collated Scottish Mss.

41[40]. *Begone, sweet night, and I shall call thee kinde.*

Key F ma. 4-4. d s d' / l s / s m r d / d
Also in Straloch and Leyden.

42. *Ye gods of love looke down in pity.*

Key D mi. 3-2. l, d d / r r / m m / m l
Not found elsewhere than in Forbes's first edition.

43[41]. *There is a thing that much is used.*

Key G mi. 4-2. l l t d' r' / m' ba's l'
Not found elsewhere than in Forbes.

44[42]. *My complaining is but faining.*

Key C ma. 4-4. f l s m / r r m d
In Robert Jones' *A musicall Dreame* (1609). Not found in any of the collated Scottish Mss.

45[43]. *With my love my life was nested.*

Key G ma. 4-4. m s f m / s r d d
In Thomas Morley's *Third Booke of Ayres* (1600). Also in Wood.

46[44]. *Behold a wonder here.*

Key G ma. 3-2. m s / d r r / d
In John Dowland's *Third Booke of Ayres* (1603). Not found in any of the collated Scottish Mss.

47. *Now, o now, I needs must part.*

Key G ma. 3-2. m r / d t, / l, d / r
In John Dowland's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597). Melody also known as "The Frog Galliard," was probably composed as a dance measure. Forbes excluded the Song from his second and third editions. It is not found in any of the collated Scottish Mss.

48[45]. *Over the mountains and under the caves.*

Key C ma. 3-2. m d s / f r s / m r d / d
In John Playford's *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (1652). The tune is also known as "Love will find out the (his) way," as that line concludes the first, second, and fourth stanzas of "Over the mountains." The Song is not found in any of the collated Scottish Mss.

49[46]. *When from my love I look'd for love.*

Key C ma. 4-4. m m m m r / d d t,
In John Bartlett's *Booke of Ayres* (1606). It occurs in none of the collated Scottish Mss.

50[47]. *Remember me, my dear, I humbly you require.*

Key G mi. 3-2. l l l l l / s c / l l d' t
l / s c

Also in Leyden, Louis de France, Squyer, Panmure. The melody is related to that of No. 25 *supra*.

- 51[48]. *How now, shepherd, what means that?*

Key G ma. 4-2. s d t, d / r d d

Elsewhere than Forbes the Song is found only in Leyden and Skene (melody entitled "The Willow Tree").

- 52[49]. *Will said to his mammie.*

Key G mi. 4-2. d' d' t l / se m

In Robert Jones' *A musicall Dreame* (1609). Also in Wood.

- 53[50]. *Care, away, goe thou from me.*

Key G mi. 4-2. m r d t, / l, d t,

Also in Leyden, Squyer, and Panmure (words only).

- 54[51]. *There was a time when sillie bees did speak.*

Key D mi. 4-4. m l se / l m / fs l s f / m

In John Dowland's *Third Booke of Ayres* (1603). The words are attributed to Robert Earl of Essex. The Song is not found in any of the collated Scottish Mss.

55. *Martine said to his man.*

Key G ma. 3-4. d d r / m m r

In *Deuteronomia: or Second Part of Musicke's Melodie, or Melodious Musick of Pleasant Roundelaies. K. H. Mirth, or Freeman's Songs, and such delightful Catches* (1609). The tune, as "Who's the fool now," is in Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book. A license to print the ballad was recorded by the Stationers' Company in 1588. Also (words) in Jackson. Forbes excluded the Song from his later editions.

56. *A shepherd in a shade his playing made.*

Key G ma. 4-2. d d d d d / d r m f / r

In John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600). The Song is omitted from

Forbes's later editions and is not found in any of the collated Scottish Mss.

- 57[52]. *Shepherd, saw thou not my faire lovely Phillis.*

Key G mi. 3-2. l t d' r' t / l d' t l se m

As "Crimson Velvet" the tune was popular in Elizabeth's and James I and VI's reigns. The words are found in *England's Helicon* (1600); also (with the melody) in Straloch, Skene, and Squyer.

- 58[53]. *Faine wold I wed a faire young maid.*

Key G mi. 4-4. l t / d' d' d' t d' / r' r' r' r'

In Thomas Campian's *Fourth Booke of Ayres* (1617) as "Fain would I wed a fair young man"; he sets stanzas 2 and 3 differently. Cf. *Lutenist Song Writers*, second series, vol. xi no. 24. Squyer also has the Song.

- 59[54]. *You minor beauties of the night.*

Key C ma. 4-2. d' s f m d / d' m' r'

The words, by Sir Henry Wotton, in Michael East's *Sixt Set of Bookes* (1624). The Song also in Louis de France, Squyer, Wood.

60. *Come againe, sweet love doth thee invite.*

Key G ma. 4-2. m f / s s / l s f f / m

In John Dowland's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597). Omitted from Forbes's later editions and found elsewhere only in Mure of Rowallan.

- 61[55]. *Flow, my tears, fall from your springes.*

Key A mi. 4-4. l s f / m d' / d' t l / se

In John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600). Cf. *Lutenist Song Writers*, first series, vol. v no. 2. Also in Panmure.

From his second (1666) edition Forbes excluded six of the sixty-one songs—Nos. 37, 42, 47, 55, 56, 60—and in their place provided three pieces for three voices:

1. *Plough-Song.*
2. *All sones of Adam, rise up with me.*
3. *Trip and go, hey.*

Forbes remarks that their inclusion freed his first edition of "all the noxious humors that were preying on its vitals," and probably had in mind to meet criticism by including pieces of distinctively national or local flavor. The Plough-Song, a monotonous chant, is chiefly of local

linguistic interest. Wood alone records it. The second is a Christmas Carol also recorded by Wood. The third is a lengthy ballad devoid of musical interest. Wood again records it.

From his third and final edition in 1682 Forbes excluded the three pieces inserted in 1666. In their place he offered "a considerable number of excellent choise Italian Songs, and English-Ayres, all in three Parts, (viz.) two Treebles and a Bass." The Italian Songs, six in number, were composed by Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi (d. 1622). The English texts of Nos. 1-5 Forbes borrowed from John Playford's *Select musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1653). Whence he obtained the words of No. 6 is not ascertained. They are not in Playford, and Thomas Oliphant's Index indicates Forbes's book as their original source. Its melody found its way into the Lutheran Hymn-book and by 1663 was associated with the hymn "In dir ist Freude." Under that title Bach treated it in an Organ Choral. The following are the English titles of Gastoldi's tunes:

1. *She that loves me for myself.*
2. *Wert thou yet fairer than thou art.*
3. *Bring back my comfort and return.*
4. *Phillis, why should we delay.*
5. *Stay, that heart I vow 'tis mine.*
6. *O sovereign of my joy.*

Playford's melodies to the six Songs are not those used by Forbes.

To Playford also Forbes was indebted for the melodies and words of the seven English Airs which concluded his volume:

1. *How happy art thou and I.*
Key G ma. 3-4. d /d d r /m f /s
In Playford (1652). Melody by Henry Lawes (d. 1662).
2. *Now we are met lets merry merry be.*
Key G ma. 3-4. d d r /m d /f s l ta /s
In Playford (1659). Melody by Simon Ives or Ives (d. 1662).
3. *I wish no more thou should'st love me.*
Key G mi. 3-2. d r m /r dt, /dt, l, /l,
In Playford (1652). Melody by William Webb, a seventeenth-century English composer.
4. *Hail, happy day, now Dorus sit thee down.*
Key C ma. 3-2. m m m /r /r m f /s
f /m
In John Playford's *Musical Companion* (1673). Melody by John Playford.
5. *Gather your rosebuds whilst you may.*
Key G ma. 4-4. s s s s f /m rd d
Words by Robert Herrick (d. 1674). Melody by William Lawes (d. 1645). In Playford (1652).
6. *Here's a health unto his Majesty.*
Key G ma. 4-4. d r /m m m m /r m d
In Playford's *Musical Companion* (1673). Melody by Jeremy Saville, a mid-seventeenth-century English composer.
7. *From the fair Lavenian shore.*
Key G ma. 4-4. d d r r /m rd r
In Playford (1659). Melody by John Wilson (d. 1674).

If public approval was vouchsafed to him, Forbes in a prefatory note promised "very shortly to Publish abroad other Musicall Songs and Ayres of various Kynds, both Catches, and Parts-Songs which are not readily to be found within this Kingdom . . . all very pleasant for every humour, yea, harmfull to None." The hope was not realised. But his appeal to "all true lovers of music" would seem to indicate that he aimed to satisfy a wider public, though his title-page continued to associate his volume with Aberdeen's Music School. As a pioneer in the development of musical taste in Scotland at large Forbes is worthy of pious regard.

A BIZARRE FRIENDSHIP: TCHAIKOVSKY AND MME. VON MECK

By OLGA BENNIGSEN

A YEAR or two ago *Academia*, a Soviet publishing office, issued the first two volumes of the correspondence (1876-1881) between Tchaikovsky and Madame von Meck. Though some of Tchaikovsky's letters to his patroness were included in the biography written by his brother Modeste, it is only now that the entire correspondence, including Madame von Meck's hitherto unpublished letters, has become accessible to the general public. The correspondence, at times carried on daily, covered a period of thirteen years when it stopped as abruptly and strangely as it had begun. The story of this friendship by letter is so unique, the mentality of both correspondents so curious, that we venture to give a brief outline of it based upon these first five years of uninterrupted communications. Naturally music is a subject which looms large in the letters, but we will limit ourselves to the biographical and psychological side of the correspondence.

In 1876, Tchaikovsky was in the prime of life. Though only thirty-six, he had already for some ten years held a professorship of harmony in the Moscow Conservatory, founded by Nicholas Rubinstein (brother of Anton), a pianist of outstanding brilliance and a man of forceful character, the autocrat of the musical circles of Moscow. The remuneration of Tchaikovsky's post was adequate for a bachelor born and bred in a middle-class family of modest means. Peter Ilyitch had at this time achieved a certain measure of success with his compositions, noticed by musicians, though not yet known to the general public. So that in 1876 Tchaikovsky's position seemed to hold great promise. Nevertheless, he hated his work, believed that he was wasting valuable time by hammering the rules of harmony into the dull brains of pupils he detested, especially those in the girls' classes. He hungered after independence, freedom to live his own life how and where he chose. Social life was irksome for this morbidly introspective egotist. It irritated him. He craved after solitude to indulge his predominant passion—the translating of his dreams into melody. His only consolation at this time was his family, to which he was bound by ties of inordinately strong affection.

What Tchaikovsky writes to Madame von Meck about his relatives, however reticent he may be upon certain aspects of his own life, is certainly very candid. There was something neurotic and unbalanced in all the Tchaikovskys, his sister and one of the nieces having even been drug-addicts; and viewing the workings of Tchaikovsky's mind would be incomplete without a consideration of the moral perversity which cast a shadow over his whole life, and of which he was always painfully conscious and ashamed, though too weak to overcome it. He was in constant dread of public exposure. "A sword of Damocles ever hangs over my head," he confessed to his brothers, from whom he had no secrets. A year earlier he had written to his brother Modeste:

I have been thinking a good deal upon myself and my future. The outcome of this being that I shall henceforth endeavor to . . . *marry anyone*. I believe my *inclinations* to be the great and invincible obstacle to my happiness, and I must fight against my nature with all my strength . . . I will try my best to marry in the course of the year, if the courage fails me I am resolved to give up my ways for good.

And later:

Shortly by marriage or by some open *liaison* with a woman I want to silence the despicable creatures whose opinion I in fact despise.

These were the motives which activated his hasty marriage with a woman he scarcely knew and disliked. They separated a few days later, and this brief matrimonial intermezzo nearly landed the bridegroom in an asylum. But here we anticipate, the marriage having only taken place in 1877.

In the last months of 1876, Tchaikovsky received a short note, the advent of which changed the trend of his whole life. It was written by a Moscow lady, Nadezhda Filaretovna von Meck, millionaire widow of a "railway-king" who had died a few months earlier. Tchaikovsky's senior by nine years, Madame von Meck was the daughter of a Mr. Fralovsky, landowner of very moderate means. At seventeen, she married Charles von Meck, a gifted young engineer of Swedish-Baltic origin, who held a badly remunerated post in the civil service. Madame von Meck wrote later:

I was not always rich, the greater part of my life I was poor, very poor . . . My husband's salary was 1500 roubles a year, and upon that we had to live with five children and support my husband's family . . . I was nurse, governess, teacher, dressmaker of my children, and also my husband's valet, bookkeeper, secretary, and helpmate.

During their twenty years of married life, eighteen children were born to them, of whom eleven survived. Proud, independent, domineering, and ambitious, Nadezhda von Meck chafed and fretted under the narrow, stupid yoke of officialdom. "In the civil service," she says in this same autobiographical letter, "a man must forget he has a reason, will, human dignity—he is just a puppet, an automaton. I was unable to stand it, and begged my husband to resign. . . . When he did, we found ourselves in such straits that all we had was some twenty copecks per day . . ." But the wheel of fortune took an unexpected turn. The sixties being a time of feverish railway-building, great concessions, and rapidly made fortunes, Charles von Meck found an outlet for his outstanding capacities, and in a few short years the poor struggling engineer became a millionaire, able to indulge his wife's every whim and fancy. In 1876, still in his prime, Meck died suddenly of heart-failure, bequeathing all his wealth to his widow. Madame von Meck was then barely forty-five, but prematurely aged, a physical and nervous wreck. In a different way, she was no less a "problem-case" than Tchaikovsky. Whether owing to the shock of her husband's death or to other causes, she had become practically a recluse, seeing no one but her family. She was as restless and as unhappy as Tchaikovsky. She could never stay long in the same place: from Moscow she moved to her country-seat in the Ukraine, from there to Vienna, or Paris, or Naples, as the spirit prompted her, trailing in her wake her children, a numerous suite, and her private musicians. These were in constant attendance upon her, their duty being to satisfy her craving for music, a taste which she inherited from her father, and which gradually grew into a passion.

At concerts she had heard some of Tchaikovsky's music played, it appealed to her, she made inquiries, and was given some particulars about the musician himself. As this music grew upon her, so her interest in its composer increased. With the generosity which was one of her characteristic traits, she longed to help the young musician materially, evolving a delicate way of doing so by giving him an order for some music—or a transcription—which she paid for in her customary princely fashion. This first note, dated December 18th, opens in the official Russian style, with a "Gracious Sir, Peter Ilyitch." The writer thanks for the speedy execution of her order, and ends by saying that "owing to your music my life has become easier, and more pleasant." The reply, penned the next day, is equally short and formal. After a lapse of two months another note arrives. The beginning is

formal, but its contents are curious—there is a suppressed passion underlying the words. The writer would say “much, much” upon her “fantastic feelings” for Tchaikovsky were it not for her “fear of taking up time. . . . I will only say that your attitude towards me, however detached, is precious for me as the best, highest of feelings man is capable of, therefore . . . call me a dreamer, crazy even, but do not laugh; it would have been funny were it not so deep and sincere.” In a brief reply, carefully worded, Tchaikovsky expresses his gratitude for the “all too generous remuneration for so insignificant a work,” an indication that Madame von Meck had again availed herself of the old pretext to help him. He assures her that he would be interested to hear all she wishes to tell him, as he is “full of sympathetic feelings” towards her, and asks her to unburden her soul to him.

After another interval, this time of three weeks only, Nadezhda von Meck complies with this request in a lengthy, incoherent letter. She explains that, being a recluse, all social rules and conventions are for her “but so many meaningless sounds.” She asks for Tchaikovsky’s photograph, though she has two. Then she tells him all his music means for her, how greedily she treasured every scrap of information about a man who had become “so near and dear” to her, for in her eyes a musician is the supreme creation of nature, an ideal which Tchaikovsky fully realizes. She commissions him to compose a *Marche funèbre* on a theme from his opera *Oprichnik*, which “drives me mad.” The vivid description of what the music has to convey—the irreparable loss, grandeur of death, despair and longing, and sad words of consolation sung by a voice from beyond the grave, may be an indication that, though throughout the correspondence she scarcely ever mentions her husband, she was still acutely feeling her bereavement. She ends by asking Tchaikovsky to drop his formal way of addressing her for a more friendly one.

This letter marks the turning point of the correspondence, and is followed by daily missives, increasingly intimate on the part of Madame von Meck, to which Tchaikovsky replies lengthily, though with less spontaneity. It is easy to sense the different quality of the respective letters—Nadezhda Filaretovna puts all her heart into hers, completely surrenders to her strange infatuation for a man she has never met, and will never meet. “There was a time when I longed to know you. Now the more I am bewitched by you, the more I dread meeting you,” she writes, and Tchaikovsky answers: “I was always interested in your

personality, for we have many traits in common. . . . The fact that we are affected by the same disease draws us closer together. Misanthropy is our common sickness." From the outset there was a tacit agreement between the friends never to speak to each other except by letter. At one time, Madame von Meck appears to have wavered and to have been inclined to break this agreement, but Tchaikovsky, the misogynist, made uneasy by Madame von Meck's passionate outbursts, manœuvred so skillfully that the *status quo* was preserved to the end.

Madame von Meck's raptures, her exaggerated praises of the man, infallible in her eyes, were sincere: there was no duplicity in her composition. This friendship brought her the happiness which, despite her luxurious surroundings, she "had not experienced for a long time," she says, promptly adding that she fears it will be short lived. Tchaikovsky must know all about her: the inward workings of her mind and soul, her agnosticism—which she quaintly calls her "religion." He must see the places she loves—Brailov, her country-place; Florence; Naples. She must be in constant communion with him, intellectual, artistic, sentimental.

So much for Madame von Meck. How did Tchaikovsky react to this love? Undoubtedly he was grateful, and, as far as his egotism permitted, devoted to her, but there is a less pleasant aspect which it is impossible to overlook. Tchaikovsky struggled against financial difficulties entirely due to his own extravagance. His debts worried him. Of course Madame von Meck paid generously for her commissions, but they were uncertain and irregular. Five months had scarcely passed since the beginning of their friendship, when Tchaikovsky took the plunge and asked her for a loan to pay his debts: "You are the sole person in the world of whom I am not ashamed to ask." With her usual open-handedness, Madame von Meck responded by settling a considerable annuity upon her friend: "Why do you hurt and insult me by worrying over material questions? Am I not your friend? You know how I love you. . . . Allow me to provide for you!" There is one condition: their friendship is to remain a secret, still more so this material help. Quarterly remittances are forwarded, not through a bank, but personally by Madame von Meck by registered letter, and henceforth expectations, arrivals, non-arrivals of such remittances become an only too familiar item of Tchaikovsky's letters. There is a touch of deliberate malice on the part of the editors in the supplementing of each volume, not by a detailed index only, but also by an appendix where fragments of other letters written



Nadezhda Filaretovna von Meck
From a photograph of 1880



Peter Ilyitch Tchaikovsky
From a photograph of 1879

by Tchaikovsky to his brothers, sometimes on the very day he wrote to Madame von Meck, can be collated, and they tell a very different story.

From Florence, where he lived in a separate villa as Nadezhda Filaretovna's guest, he writes to Anatole Tchaikovsky:

I am living comfortably, luxuriously. . . . But . . . the proximity of N. F. upsets me. She often drives or walks past. . . . I wonder whether she is not anxious to know me personally. . . . I heartily wish her to depart as soon as possible.

He writes to this same brother some time later:

N. F. asked me when to send the June remittance. Instead of replying "Darling, for goodness' sake at once!" I played the gentleman, . . . said . . . I could wait! Now . . . it's June 1st, and still no sign of any money!

Not knowing what to invent to please her idol, Madame von Meck ordered a costly watch for 10,000 francs as a surprise to await him in Brailov. His thanks were effusive to the limit of exaggeration, but with the same pen he tells his brothers another tale:

I fondly hoped for a small package with a few thousands . . . found two letters and a small case . . . opening it excitedly discovered not cash but a gorgeous watch. . . . Between us I'd have preferred to get the money it cost!

Such comparisons are unfavorable as they cast doubts upon the disinterestedness of Tchaikovsky's feelings towards a woman to whom he owed a luxurious and "free" existence—if such complete dependence upon a wealthy patron can indeed be termed "freedom." His complaints against the uncongenial work at the Conservatory result in Madame von Meck's warm advocacy of his resignation of a post "so beneath your capacities," and henceforth he may roam Russia and the rest of Europe at his will. Yet he is conscious that Madame von Meck's generosity has forged chains which bind him—however easy and golden, they still are fetters. "I confess with regret," he writes to his brotherly confidants, "that our relations are not normal, and this abnormality is keenly felt at times." In his frequent "moods" he occasionally complains to his brothers of Madame von Meck's undue solicitude for his comfort, which he resents as indiscreet interference; he indulges in not too kind sneers at her tender outpourings; and he voices his misgivings concerning her suspected desire to trespass upon his solitude. Having to write her wordy epistles often bores him, and he complains of this tedious duty. These "asides" are in glaring contrast with all he says in his letters to his benefactress, which abound in protestations of love, devotion, grati-

tude. Unwittingly the reader questions Tchaikovsky's sincerity. But in all justice to him be it said that he was conscious of his faults and shortcomings, and made no secret of them: "This duality of my nature . . . I think in one way, and act in another," he confesses.

However much egotism, perversity, a certain duplicity, pertain to the man, when the artist speaks in Tchaikovsky, his very tone alters. Art is his sacred ground, there he is at home, and authoritatively asserts his artistic integrity and independence. Whatever weakness he may show in other matters, whatever concessions he may make, in the sphere of music he never temporizes, and will not cede a jot or tittle of his convictions—even to please Madame von Meck. Although many of his judgments, like much of his own music, are outdated, some of his criticisms grossly unjust, he believed in them, and that sufficed. Madame von Meck's tastes in music, as in everything else, were intensely personal and inconsistent: Mozart she hated, he "lacked depth . . . was indecently cheerful." But, in Tchaikovsky's musical Pantheon, Mozart was the supreme deity, and much ink and paper is wasted by both correspondents in a lively controversy over Mozart. Tchaikovsky may throw bouquets at Nadezhda Filaretovna, telling her that her "technical knowledge of music is amazing," but he tempers this praise by the significant qualification "for a dilettante." He has sounded her amateurishness, her emotional passion for the music which appeals to her senses—which she feels "physically," as she often repeats—, her uncritical admiration of everything he writes, even his feeblest works. His artistic integrity manifests itself in an objective appreciation of his own compositions. He spares himself no criticism and registers, with a most engaging frankness, his shame and disgust when, unseen in a dark corner, he listens to one of his earlier operas, in which "all is wrong," or when he obtains by ruse the score of another early opera from the library of the Opera House, only to destroy it. These passages are highly commendatory to the musician, and go some way to vindicate the many dark sides of the man.

In 1878, Tchaikovsky had fully entered into the enjoyment of his changed circumstances, rid himself of the hated wife, left the Conservatory and Rubinstein, and was free to devote all his time to composing. His Fourth Symphony, dedicated to his "best friend," Madame von Meck, had been played, though its full appreciation was to come later. He was greedy of fame and proud to have received some recognition abroad, so it would have seemed that he might be quite happy. Yet he was uneasy—the "sword of Damocles" hung as a constant menace over

him. Madame von Meck's views upon morals were uncompromising, as Tchaikovsky was well aware: if anything reached her ears she would most likely withdraw her friendship, and the loss of his carefree, luxurious life was something he dreaded above everything. The brief interlude of platonic matrimony had not hushed rumors, Tchaikovsky's own lack of prudence fostering them. Frightened, he hastened to forestall and neutralize dangerous gossip by complaining at great length to Madame von Meck of "hideous calumnies" which were being spread by the enemies of the Moscow Conservatory and affected him personally. Quick to champion the cause of her friend, Madame von Meck consoles him, pouring the vials of her scorn upon his detractors, and for a time he breathes freely again. But conscience, that uncomfortable appendage, is uneasy and pricks him—he protests somewhat gingerly against his friend's excessive idealization of himself: he is not the man she believes him to be but "far, far worse." Such protestations, mistaken for the sign of a beautiful humility, only fan the flames of Madame von Meck's passion, and the correspondence proceeds on the customary lines. Nothing affecting Peter Ilyitch is beneath Nadezhda Filaretovna's loving curiosity—she must be posted upon everything concerning him, be it trivial details about his health and mode of life, or the pet names of his brothers, exact number and age of nephews and nieces. She constantly demands the latest photographs of the whole family. He replies with pages of dulllest and minutest details—some more suited to his medical adviser than a lady-friend. The reader has difficulty to realize that the letters are written by a young man, and not an old dotard whose interests are centered in his digestion and minor ailments of a senile organism. Then Madame von Meck conceives a plan which gradually develops into an obsession—she must become related to Tchaikovsky by the marriage of one of her sons to one of his four nieces—no matter which. Though in one letter, with amusing inconsistency, this mother of eighteen children had declared herself an "inveterate enemy of marriage and match-making," she is now anxious to betroth a boy of seventeen to a girl of twenty or a child of eleven, neither of whom he has ever seen. It is to Tchaikovsky's honor that he shows more reason and balance in the matter, however advantageous such a match would have been for one of his penniless nieces. These negotiations, which henceforth play a considerable part in the correspondence, reveal an unsuspected virtue in Nadezhda Filaretovna—humility. Meekness was not one of the gifts bestowed upon her by the fairy who presided over her birth: she was

despotic, assertive, dogmatic. Her opinions upon any question, including the inexistence of God, were unassailable only because she held them—a very feminine logic. She was conscious of the importance and power her wealth gave her, but whatever her attitude to the rest of humanity, in Tchaikovsky she saw a being apart, immeasurably above the common herd; his friendship was a rare privilege, and all his relatives shared in his perfection. The mere thought that one of the paragon's peerless nieces might become her daughter-in-law thrilled her. In another volume readers will see that these plans did actually materialize.

In 1881, Madame von Meck experienced financial difficulties and gave way to panic: the spectre of ruin seemed to stare her in the face, and as usual she imparts her anxiety to Tchaikovsky. He responds by a nobly worded letter in which he suggests the revocation of his annuity, saying that his earnings were now sufficient to ensure his comfort, but a letter written to his brother on the same day puts the case very differently. There is not an inkling of any sympathy or concern for the woman who had been so generous to him, but only callous and practical speculations concerning the repercussions this reported ruin would have upon his own future:

N. F. von Meck is nearly ruined. . . . She confirms the rumor but says my annuity is so insignificant compared to her lost millions, that she asks me not to mention it as she will continue to pay it. But you realize that this pension is no more something secure and stable. . . . Possibly in a year or two I shall again have to take a regular job.

And poor Madame von Meck, who never suspected her friend's disloyalty, breaks out into rapturous praise of his "wonderful, rare, delicate heart." In moments of merciless self-dissection Tchaikovsky expresses deep shame of his egotism and "greed for money."

Rumors of ruin proving unfounded, life resumes its ordinary course with trips abroad and visits to Brailov, the country-place in Podolia. Once, when Tchaikovsky stays there in a small villa about a mile or two from the big house, he learns to his annoyed dismay that his hostess is in residence there with her family. In a letter to a brother he gracefully compares her near, though invisible, presence to the inevitable "spoonful of tar in a barrel of honey."

This is a short survey of these first two volumes. The others will show the further developments and vicissitudes of this peculiar friendship. It broke off in 1890, when Madame von Meck suddenly stopped her allowance. Tchaikovsky had reached the summit of his celebrity,

his position socially and financially was unassailable, his future secure, so it is surprising how he continued to accept tranquilly the £600 annuity he was no more in need of, all the more so since the reckless spending of Madame von Meck's eldest son had gravely impaired her fortune. Amazed and pained, Tchaikovsky wrote to Madame von Meck asking for an explanation—no answer came. Again he appealed to her—she remained silent, but her secretary wrote to say his employer was ill and could not be disturbed. Tchaikovsky wrote no more.

Three years later, in the autumn of 1893, a sudden attack of cholera carried him into the grave. In his delirium he was heard to murmur the name of Nadezhda Filaretovna with bitter reproach. She survived him by a few short months, and early in 1894 followed him into the great unknown. Her secret died with her. Nadezhda Filaretovna never revealed to anyone the cause which drove her to end at one stroke the intimate friendship which, as she had so often repeated, had been the joy and consolation of her life, nor did anyone guess the suffering this irrevocable decision had cost her. Was it an unconscious warning when, in the heyday of her passionate friendship, she wrote: "I will provide for you . . . just as long as the feelings which bind us together last." Something—perhaps the "sword of Damocles"—severed the tie, and Nadezhda von Meck, true to herself, disdained pretence, for, as she had repeatedly said, she would have nothing to do with "empty, meaningless conventions."

The portrait sketch of this wayward, strange woman would be incomplete without a final stroke of the brush. At the funeral, carried out in Moscow with all the magnificent solemnity of the Russian Church of which she was nominally a member, the family was surprised to see a crowd of some thousand shabby people following the hearse. Inquiries revealed them to be the needy from different parts of Moscow, who came to render their last tribute of gratitude to a benefactress whose secret charities had remained unknown even to her nearest.

MUSIC OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

By ALFRED J. SWAN

THE RECENT PUBLICATION by the Danish Academy, in its series of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, of the Viennese Codex (Theol. Græc. 181) in facsimile opens a new chapter for our acquaintance with the music of the Eastern Churches. The Codex is a Sticherarium of the year 1221, containing Stichera Idiomela¹ with Greek text and notation of the Middle-Byzantine period (twelfth to fifteenth century). A transcription into modern notation of a part of this Sticherarium—the Menaion² for September has just appeared. This transcription is unlike previous ones (by Gastoué and Riemann) in one essential point: the melody is here endowed with rhythmic life and flows along quite spontaneously, whereas previous transcriptions have failed to catch its rhythm and have made it into a lifeless succession of notes. This dynamic and rhythmic interpretation of the Byzantine melodies we owe to Prof. E. Wellesz of Vienna, one of the editors of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*.

The music of Byzantium is a vast field of religious art ranging from the earliest extant documents of the sixth century, with so-called ecphonic signs (signs indicating the rise and fall of the voice during the solemn reading of the Gospel), up to the Neo-Greek music beginning a little over a century ago. This whole sphere remained closed to the ear of the musician for want of any certain way of reading the notation. Even the text of the hymns was not made into a subject of study until about 1870, when the *Anthologia Græca Carminum Christianorum* of Christ and Paranikas, and the *Hymnographie de l'Église Grecque* of Cardinal Pitra made their appearance. The nineties saw the epoch-making contributions of Uspensky and Krumbacher, and the foundation of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. The notation of the Byzantine manuscripts was first explained in Thibaut's *Monuments de la Notation Ecphonétique et Hagiopolite de l'Église*

¹ A Sticherarium is a collection of Stichera. A Sticheron is a chant composed in imitation of a psalm-verse. Some Stichera had their own melody and were called Idiomela, others were done in accordance with a melody already known and were called Prosomoia.

² The Menaion, pl. Menaia, is a book giving the complete cycle of chants for any month in the year, or for all the holidays (Holiday Menaia).

Grecque and O. Fleischer's *Neumenkunde*. Since then the wave of enthusiasm for Byzantine culture has not subsided.

An almost immediate consequence of Byzantine musical studies will be a desire to find out about the music of the Greek Churches in the Slavonic countries, since they owe their religion to Byzantium. Russian Church music has existed since the eleventh century and is at least as big a domain of art as Byzantine music, but outside of Russia it has never been explored. It is the present writer's intention to bring out a study of Russian Church music and thereby make a first move in the direction of a systematic penetration by western explorers into much that is as yet obscure. Russian research has unfolded before us a bulk of music that is rid of all mystery down to the fifteenth century, that ingenious minds have traced even as far back as the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, beyond which time it can be linked with the Early Byzantine phase in Constantinople. Of this bulk a fair amount is contained in staff notation first printed in 1772. There are five volumes, comprising chants of the Hirmologion,³ the Octoechos,⁴ the Ordinarium,⁵ the Triodion,⁶ and the Menaia for the Greater Holidays, that are accessible to any musician and form a good basis for an initial acquaintance with Russian Church music. But by far the greater part of the latter is in manuscripts with neume notation. The name for the principal chant and notation is: *známenny*, adjective from *známia*, plural *znamióna* (signs). In the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries ramifications of it begin to appear, together with an influx, from the south-west of Russia, of other chants, that gradually establish a rival existence by the side of the time-honored *známenny* chant.

The bulk of the manuscripts is in Russia. Formerly it was possible by means of catalogues and descriptions compiled by scholars like Smoliénsky and Metallov to allocate a good many of them to museums, monasteries, theological seminaries, archæological institutes, and universities. Now they are in a state of chaos on account of transportations and general lack of interest. Some of them are even said to have been

³ The Hirmologion is a book containing the Hirmoi. The latter are model stanzas, according to which all the stanzas of the odes of a kanon were fashioned.

⁴ The Octoechos is the book in which all chants are grouped in the succession of the eight echoi. Each echos possesses its own tone-formulæ, the sum-total of which gives the echos its individual character.

⁵ In the Ordinarium the chants are grouped according to the major categories: *známenny*, Kieff, Greek, Bulgarian, etc.

⁶ The succession of services and their appropriate chants for between Septuagesima and Trinity Sundays.

bartered away. But in the communities of Old Believers in Eastern Prussia, Latvia, and Esthonia, there are very likely a good many liturgical books with the *znamióna*, since the Old Believers steadfastly adhered to the old books when the staff was brought into Russia together with other, and more serious, innovations under the patriarch Nikon (1652-66). These would probably belong to a late period (not before the sixteenth century).

Nikon's reforms burst into Russian Church singing after its continuous development for nearly 700 years. It was a tragic moment in the history of the venerable art, as it was probably a tragic moment for Russia as a whole. The national treasures, accumulated through centuries, were to be replaced by alien and dubious values. The coming catastrophe was hardly sensed by the best Russian people of the time. They were sure of the stability of the old order. The *známenny* chant—a heritage of pre-Mongol days—was being enriched by many variants, a reform of the texts was afoot that would give it additional dignity. The first examples of an indigenous polyphony, spontaneous and akin to the manner in which the Russian people are wont to harmonize their folk-songs, were just making themselves felt, when the whole structure tottered and fell under the pressure of Western ideas. A period of slavish imitation was to follow, that lasted well into the nineteenth century and was probably a main reason for weakening the country and exposing it to the blows that our own generation has witnessed.

Just before the new finally triumphed over the old, a commission sat in Moscow charged with the revision of the text and melodies of the *známenny* chant (1668). It was composed of six experts (*didaskaloi*) and presided over by the monk Alexander Mesenez. They had completed the revision of the *Hirmologion* and were going to print the new version of it when it appeared that it was impossible to set in type the black *znamióna* and the red-ink marks indicating their height. Mesenez thereupon invented a substitute method, but encountered violent opposition from supporters of the red-ink marks. The controversy was soon swallowed up by the incoming staff notation, and the *známenny* books continued to appear in hand-written copies. In many of them, Mesenez' method is accepted together with the red-ink marks.

To remind singers of the old tradition of singing and perhaps to counteract the influence of Europe, Mesenez compiled an "Alphabet" of *znamióna* which he possibly intended as an introduction to the re-

vised Hirmologion. This alphabet remains to this day the best handbook for the study of the old Russian notation. The scholars who in the nineteenth century inaugurated the science of Russian Church music would have fared ill without it.

The motto, "back to the old chant," was only slow in getting hold of the minds of musicians and scholars. Glinka came and went before he was able to accomplish for religious music even a tithe of what he had done for opera and symphony. From his communion with the Prince V. F. Odoyévsky—philosopher, amateur musician, historian, and social worker—, a sort of movement sprang up that aimed at offsetting the prevailing anti-national currents in church music. This movement produced a figure like the priest D. V. Rasumóvsky, the first professor of Church music at the Moscow Conservatory (1866), an expert in the reading of the old znamíóna and the first palæographer who occupied himself systematically with the old notations. At his death in 1889 he was succeeded by S. V. Smoliénsky, so far the most important investigator of Russian Church music. Smoliénsky avoided Rasumóvsky's mistake of trying to fit the Russian melodies into the musical system of ancient Greece. He edited the "Alphabet" of Mesenez, attempted a partial reading of documents of the thirteenth century (the Hirmologion of the Voskressénsky Monastery), and even went so far as to establish the systematic use of whole groups of signs in the manuscripts with kondakarian notation, a strangely hybrid mixture of Early-Byzantine signs, Middle-Byzantine signs, and znamíóna. Smoliénsky's own successor, the priest V. M. Metálov, did not quite fulfil the hopes that were placed in him. His histories of Church music read with difficulty, his theories lack a firm foundation and are not reasoned out convincingly. But Metálov's special field was the great známenny chant as it flourished in the sixteenth century in the hands of a group of masters surrounding the Czar Ivan IV (1533-84). In that golden age of Russian Church music the as yet unchanter portions of the ritual were set to music, in which high inspiration was united with an adherence to the traditional melodic formulæ of the známenny chant. These formulæ Metálov has reproduced with great knowledge in his *Octoechos of the známenny chant* (1908), and has thereby put an end to any attempts to fit this Russian chant into alien theories.

With the passing of Metálov's generation from the scene, the research in Russian Church music has come to a standstill. All the more important therefore is the desire of the editors of the *Monumenta*

Musicae Byzantinae to widen the scope of their publications by the inclusion of monuments of Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and possibly Rumanian Church music, and a series of studies about them, as "Subsidia." The present writer's study of Russian Church music will be the first of this series, being a historical account and an analysis of the musical structure of the *znamenny* and other chants. Another publication should be the "Alphabet" of Mesenez with a parallel translation, in the form in which O. Fleischer has edited the Papadike of Messina.⁷

Thus we stand before a novel paragraph in the study of the music of the Eastern Churches. There was a time when Gregorian chant, mutilated to an inordinate degree, was barely recognizable in the current practice. Eighty years ago, the Benedictines of Solesmes raised the cry for a return to the sources ("*revertimini ad fontes*"). The result has been not only a rescue of the remnants of the chant, but a renewed glorious existence. Such an existence may be in store also for the Byzantine music. Russian Church music has already inspired such composers as Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, and Rachmaninov, and has moulded a figure of the type of Kastalsky.⁸ A scientific study of this fruitful field might have consequences beyond all expectation.

⁷ A mediæval treatise on the Byzantine theory of music.

⁸ See A. Kastalsky, *My Musical Career and my Thoughts on Church Music*, in *The Musical Quarterly* for April, 1925, p. 231.

CARLOS CHÁVEZ

By HERBERT WEINSTOCK

CARLOS CHÁVEZ can be appraised justly only when his varied activities are judged as related expressions of a firmly integrated personality. This is not to say that any one of his major manifestations—as educator, as conductor, as composer—will, if carefully examined, prove to be less than first rate. Indeed, his leadership in each department is extraordinary. But the only key to an understanding of his challenging presence on the contemporary musical scene is found in the man himself as workman. The same inflexible standards, the same constant attention to what is living and useful, motivate him in whatever he undertakes.

Appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, Chávez is no doctrinaire. He never tries to force life or music into the strait scheme of a formulated utopianism. He believes that good music has motion, is music that stimulates and exhilarates. He believes that the great musicians have always been men drawing their sustenance from the living traditions of their countries, men of superior talent and imagination who intellectualized and bodied forth, renewed and transformed, materials which were fundamentally, and in the true sense, popular. He dislikes whatever is esoteric and occult, what smells of the lamp, those dead formalizations for which there never was, and never can be, a true demand or response. He calls all good music revolutionary, and lists among the great revolutionaries Bach, Wagner, and the Stravinsky of *Le Sacre* and *Les Noces*.

Chávez' manifold activities are, in a very real sense, the inseparable facets of a constant self-education. His aims may be briefly outlined: he wants to educate more and more people to an understanding and appreciation of living music, to create music worthy of the people so educated, and to give performances as good and as easily available as endless hard work and the new methods of broadcasting and reproduction allow.

Carlos Chávez is a Mexican. His coming-of-age coincided almost exactly with that breathing-space, that period of summation and expression, which the Mexican Revolution entered about 1921. He belongs, not with such older Mexican musicians as Julian Carrillo and Manuel M. Ponce, but with Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and the other

men who, through painting, writing, and education, have brilliantly expressed the renascent culture of a country of challenging social experimentation.

The Indian is never far from Chávez. This is natural, for it is the Indian and the *mestizo* (Indian-Spanish) who, after centuries of repression, have begun to be heard in Mexico, through a voice coming to be known around the world. Chávez is a nationalist, not in any narrow, jingoistic sense, but in the sense that he feels close to his land and its people, finds their music in his own blood, discovers the most complete liberation of his own talents in a relation to Mexico's traditions rather than to those of Europe.

Chávez' energy is astonishing, not only in its abundance and continuity, but in its concentration. It would in itself be worthy of note for a man of thirty-five to have to his credit years of fruitful activity as Director of the National Conservatory of Music and Chief of the Department of Fine Arts of the Secretariat of Public Education, the creation of a symphony orchestra and its conductorship for eight years, and a long list of compositions in many forms. All this would be relatively negligible, however, if it represented the glorification of a static mediocrity. In Chávez' case, life is evidenced by progress. He touches nothing to leave it unchanged.

The real biography of Carlos Chávez is the story of what he has done. The facts of interest for the record may be briefly summarized as follows:

Carlos Chávez was born June 13, 1899, just outside Mexico City, the seventh child of Agustín Chávez and Juvencia Ramírez de Chávez. On both sides, his ancestry included people of value and eminence, an inventor, a statesman, a scientist, an author, an outstanding patriot. Carlos is not the only musician in his family: he took his first piano lessons from his brother Manuel. He continued his piano studies under one Srta. Asunción Parra, and later under two musicians of importance, Manuel M. Ponce and Pedro Luis Ogazón. Ponce—known the world over as the composer of *Estrellita*—was almost the first Mexican musician to display an active interest in the wealth of *mestizo* music all about him. He is a conventional nineteenth-century musician, and has composed Ballads, Rhapsodies, and Suites, consisting of adaptations of this popular music. Ponce's example probably helped orient Chávez towards his strong interest in the hitherto neglected music of the Indians. Ogazón was an extremely accomplished pianist and possibly the most erudite

Mexican musician of his time. In contact with him, Chávez acquired that deep and wide acquaintance with classic and romantic musical literature which is clearly reflected in his sure grasp of form, as well as in his critical writing and activity.

The Mexican Revolution—which broke in 1910 and swept on into the middle 1920's—fortunately did not interrupt the continuity of Chávez' life. It awoke his strong sympathy for the oppressed and the humble and brought him into contact with others sharing his intense confidence in the Mexican people. He had begun to compose while still a child. Juvenilia aside, however, his serious composing may be said to date from his *First Symphony*, written in 1918. In the three succeeding years, he wrote extensively for orchestra, piano, ensemble, and voice, in a semi-classical style in which only the slightest truly Mexican elements appear. This period culminated in 1921, with a *String Quartet* which is not only a summation of Chávez' apprenticeship, but a clear intimation of his mature works.

In 1921-22, several events of importance occurred in Chávez' career. He came in contact with José Vasconcelos, the meteoric Secretary of Education who served in many ways as the *deus ex machina* of the Mexican artistic renaissance. It was José Vasconcelos who commissioned Diego Rivera to paint the now world-famous frescoes in the Secretariat of Education. He also commissioned Chávez to write *El Fuego Nuevo*, a Mexican ballet. In this score there appear the first unmistakable fruits from the seeds left in Chávez by the Indian music with which he had been familiar since childhood, music he had heard during many visits to the ancient city of Tlaxcala. It was not that Chávez was arranging actual folk music—the *Sandunga* of H.P. is later, and almost unique—but that a man who knew the music of Mexican Indians was composing music native to his country and himself. It was in 1922, also, that Chávez married Otilia Ortiz, by whom he has had three children. In this same year, he visited Europe, remaining into 1923.

Despite his conviction that Mexican music must free itself of imitation of Europe, Chávez still looked towards Europe as the center of the musical world, and to Berlin as the center of musical Europe. This led to the sharpest disappointment of his life. He found in Germany the same routine, the same clichés, that he had reacted against in Mexico. In Berlin, too, music had stopped with the classics and imitations of classics. Here was nothing of the new life, the fresh musical outpouring he had hoped for and expected. At twenty-three, he turned his back

on Europe, setting his face towards America in the sure belief that his own future, if not the immediate future of all living music, lay there.

In 1923-24 (and again in 1926-28, 1932, and 1935-36) Chávez visited the United States. It excited him. The technical advance and invention manifest in the excellence of the best American orchestras and in the increasingly fine processes of recording and broadcasting music, were to him both revelations and a confirmation of his own innermost beliefs. Here were the techniques of the socialized music of the future, the new instruments by which that music would, to a large extent, be conditioned. His admiration for the power and originality of the best jazz, for the work of engineers in recording and radio laboratories, for so audacious and sage an experimenter as Leopold Stokowski, has stayed with him. While keeping his roots firmly in the soil of Mexico, Chávez has found the way to draw nourishment from Philadelphia, Camden, and New York as well. He is one of the men now giving a musical meaning to the geographical term America.

From 1921 to 1928, Chávez composed prolifically and with increasing assurance, in his second style, a way of expression as Mexican and as personal as Diego Rivera's. Besides *El Fuego Nuevo*, this period included another ballet, *Los Cuatro Soles*, the ballet-symphony, *H.P.*, chamber pieces, songs, and piano works.

In July 1928, Chávez accepted the post of conductor of what was then the orchestra of the musicians' union. From an aggregation of uncertain power and vague character, he has transformed it into a major symphony orchestra. Today, its quality of performance stands with the best, and its repertoire offers advice to all but the fewest conductors. Hedged in by numerous limitations, financial and otherwise, the orchestra has improved constantly. Through it, Chávez has taught the musicians to play, the public to listen, and himself to conduct superbly. The Symphony Orchestra of Mexico gave its first concert in September 1928, and completed its ninth consecutive year in the Summer of 1936.

In December 1928, Chávez was appointed Director of the National Conservatory of Music, a position he filled until March 1933, and again from May to December 1934. He entirely remade the curriculum, turning the Conservatory away from the dusty academic character it had preserved, towards a living usefulness to the Mexican people and the art of music. No detail escaped him, nothing dead or extraneous was left inviolate.

In March 1933, Chávez was appointed Chief of the Department of Fine Arts of the Secretariat of Public Education. He brought his intense and active belief in the values of indigenous music, and in music as an art related directly to life, to bear on the problems of education. Here again his influence was on the side of renewal, of fresh action studiously founded on Mexico's vital tradition. He resigned this post in May 1934, because of political changes.

Since May 1934, Chávez has centered his efforts on the work of the Symphony Orchestra and on his own composing. Beginning with the *Third Piano Sonata*, this period includes his three great choral works, *Tierra Mojada*, *El Sol*, and *Llamadas*, the *Sinfonía de Antígona*, and smaller works for piano, horns, voice, ensemble, and an orchestra to which native Mexican instruments have been added, which he called The Mexican Orchestra.

In December 1935, Chávez came again to the United States. Here he composed his *Sinfonía India*, which he conducted for the first time in a broadcast on January 23, 1936. He conducted the Philadelphia Orchestra and the Boston Symphony Orchestra, as well as an orchestra functioning under the WPA in New York, and was invited to return in February 1937, to conduct the Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra of New York. Musicians and music-lovers north of the border should enthusiastically welcome this auspicious beginning of Chávez' personal relation to the musical life of the United States. He is not just one more virtuoso, one more exotic colorist from an obscure country, one more pedant with murky theories. Our musical life, no less than Mexico's in 1921, needs just the energy, the lofty standards, the relation to its social setting, that have characterized Chávez' contribution in Mexico.



In a very real sense, all of Carlos Chávez' endeavors have been educational. The relation, for example, between his work in building up the repertoire of the Orchestra, and that in the Department of Fine Arts, is that of elements of the same expression.

Chávez found the National Conservatory a disorganized imitation of those European academies in which inflexible, lengthy, and antiquated courses year after year produced hundreds of dilettantes, "lady-pianists," and amateurs able only to come badly through the terrors of a free pupils' recital. He recast the courses, centering them about

modern methods of instruction adapted to Mexico's particular needs. He oriented the Conservatory towards the production of professional musicians, capable teachers, and a body of trained music-lovers. He put the student orchestra on a new basis, formed groups of executants to give as wide hearing as possible to the music of all epochs, founded a chorus, started historic, scientific, and artistic research, and instituted the giving of concerts to workers in the public parks. He all but abolished free pupils' recitals, substituting for them performances by adequate executants, for which small admission fees were charged. Soloists of promise among the students were afforded appearances with the Symphony Orchestra, and the Chorus of the Conservatory became, under Luis Sandi, a body able to acquit itself brilliantly in Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* and Palestrina's *Missa Papæ Marcelli*.

Students of composition were encouraged to compose with primary materials immediately, and to enlarge their resources as rapidly as possible. Research in native music was furthered, and a real school of young composers steeped in native idioms began to appear. Chávez gave them the most valuable of encouragements, playing the best of their works with the Symphony Orchestra and the ensemble including native instruments, called the Mexican Orchestra. Two of the compositions which he conducted on his first American broadcast—Luis Sandi's *El Venado* and Daniel Ayala's *U Kayil Chaac*—were originally written for the Mexican Orchestra. Music, which had been a dead thing for which students prepared for long years, became a living reality in which they took part at once.

This same program was carried by Chávez into the Department of Fine Arts. Research and noting down of native music, the collecting and study of native instruments, the distribution throughout the schools of copies of simple arrangements of native melodies, the publication of an excellent book on pre-Cortesian percussion instruments, the performance of simple works in schools, the training of childrens' choruses, were all parts of it. Chávez formulated related plans for the divisions of plastic art and the dance, the art schools for workers, and the theater for children. Without any compromise in standards or quality, art was being taken down from its lonely pedestal and given a warm place among the people.

The response, and particularly that of workers and children, was overwhelming. Unaware of the moral gulf which, for many people, divides the music of today from the classics, the children sang pentatonic



Carl Sandburg

(Photograph by
Paul Strand)



Autograph of the First Page of
Carlos Chávez' *Fox* for Piano

music, simple classical music, and ultramodern music, with equal relish. Their sense of the exact beauties and qualities of each was amazing. When Chávez' *Llamadas*, scored for small orchestra and chorus, was performed in the *Casa del Pueblo* at union meetings, the workers' enthusiasm was wild. It was their vociferous demand, carried to the authorities by Diego Rivera, which caused *Llamadas*, rescored for large orchestra and chorus, to be played at the dedication of the Palace of Fine Arts. The lesson in this for those who believe in the necessity of playing down to the general public and to children is too obvious to need pointing. If Chávez were never again to take active part in strictly educational work, the importance of his efforts in this field would remain enormous. By turning music at once back to Mexico and ahead into the present and future, he was giving it a new life.



Chávez' work as conductor of the Symphony Orchestra of Mexico has been unimaginably difficult. He took over an orchestra with little or no symphonic experience, either no tradition or an interrupted one based on a few classics *plus* bad French-Italian imitations of them, and no regular audience. He has had to work with extremely small budgets, and often against stupid and malicious criticism. The latter necessitated the writing of his brilliant series of journalistic statements of creed and intention.

The Orchestra is never static. It plays better each year. A noticeable uncertainty of early seasons has all but vanished. The assurance with which it attacks such a work as *Le Sacre du Printemps* is measure of the persistent labor which its members, under Chávez' guidance, have given to its improvement.

The programs which earlier Mexican orchestras had, almost without exception, perpetrated on unsuspecting audiences, would be unimaginable—if we did not too often hear their counterparts in American concert-halls today. Even a cursory glance at the Orchestra's beautifully printed and well annotated programs—with compositions from Bach to Stravinsky, Copland, and Chávez himself—is the best comment on the task of repertoire-building accomplished by Chávez.

Slowly, but with consistent increase, the Orchestra has created its public. It is not made up solely of the type of audience attracted by American symphony orchestras. For the Orchestra has given concerts

in workers' parks, to labor unions, and to regular subscribers and ticket-buyers. The quality of the audience has quite naturally improved with that of the Orchestra.

Chávez' conducting is characterized by firmness and rhythmic vigor. He demands—and obtains—clarity and sharp precision. A conductor's manner can never be accurately transmitted in words. The best a writer can do is to say that Chávez has full command of every section of his orchestra, and the ability to apply the quality of each to the creation of a sensitively conceived and brilliantly balanced whole.



Chávez' qualities, his growth and development, are clearly revealed by his compositions. Those of the period prior to 1921 are already firm in texture and workmanlike in form. It is true, however, that if he had composed nothing else, or had gone on in the same vein, he would not bulk large today. The lack of weak sentimentality, the dry vigor and rhythmic force of his later works, are suggested in these early compositions. But the spirit of the music, its harmonic and melodic character, are European.

The *String Quartet*, composed in 1921, is work of another sort. As performed by the Roth Quartet in a Coolidge Concert in the Library of Congress on January 31, 1936, it was obviously one of the Chávez works that will continue to be heard. At least one of its movements belongs definitely to his maturity, could be the work of no composer not a Mexican, and of no Mexican but this one.

The works for piano, and especially the *Sonatina*, 36, and the *Third Sonata*, are by no means either easy to play or, at first, easy to hear. They are spare, unsensuous, characterized by the harshness of Mexico's highland landscapes. The Mexico in this music is not the fictitious one of travel advertising, but of the magnificent and spacious plateaus of craggy distances, the Mexico in which a stolid people wring livelihood from a somewhat forbidding nature. Once become familiar, these pieces unfold a new musical experience of great beauty, and are discovered among the finest piano works of our time.

The same astringent harmonies, firmly tendoned melodies, and increasingly complex strong rhythms are in the pieces for ensemble and voice, *Energía*, the *Horn Sonata*, *Todo*, and *Soli*. The *Sonatinas* for piano and violin and piano and 'cello fall in the same category—master-

fully constructed pieces in which Chávez has begun to let his talents range on the firm basis of the Indian tradition he knows thoroughly, music speaking the clear voice of the resurgent Mexico of today.

Finally, there is that amazing group of larger compositions which are not only Chávez' prime contributions to his art but something entirely new in music. *El Fuego Nuevo*, *Los Cuatro Soles*, *H.P.*, *Tierra Mojada*, the *Sinfonía de Antígona*, *El Sol*, *Llamadas*, and the *Sinfonía India*—by these works Chávez as composer may be judged and found to be one of those who re-energize the art of music. Only two of them are purely symphonic works—the *Sinfonía de Antígona* and the *Sinfonía India*. Of the others, *El Fuego Nuevo* and *Los Cuatro Soles* are ballets, and *H.P.* a ballet-symphony, while *Tierra Mojada*, *El Sol*, and *Llamadas* are choral works. While each has a character of its own, they may be discussed together without doing them violence.

All of Chávez' major works freely add Indian instruments to the modern orchestra. All of them live unmistakably in our day, but in none is there deliberate effort at being modern in the limited sense. They make striking, but always self-justifying, new uses of standard instrumental combinations, and have a fresh vitality of tonal conception particularly welcome in the midst of much contemporary posturing. The spaciousness of Mexico is in them, the relentless and mindless grandeur of seemingly empty volcanic lands. The Mexican people is in them, their sardonic humor, direct gentleness, and pertinacity, the justified pride that survived four centuries of cruel exploitation. The Indian is in them, playing his traditional music on violin, drum, rattle, guitar, flute, and horn, while in at least one of them—*H.P.*—there is news brought by Chávez from tropical Mexico and our own northern land of dynamo and machine.

This is music held severely in check by a dominating intellect, but is never mere arid cerebration. A warm and generous spirit informs it all, and its novelty is but a new sort of beauty. Those who are frightened—not always without justice—at the name of twentieth-century music, will have to make a co-operative effort really to hear these works. But this is the part a hearer must play in all music. He will find here not only the very qualities that have made older music meaningful and important to him, but a vigorous expression of his own changing world. Perhaps *H.P.*, the *Sinfonía de Antígona*, *Llamadas*, and the *Sinfonía India*, could not better be described than by saying that they are authentic music of the first rank, set forth for our pleasure and stimulation by

a truly living composer whose high purpose and standard allow him to compromise neither with his material nor with his listeners.

A COMPLETE LIST OF THE COMPOSITIONS OF CARLOS CHÁVEZ

(In manuscript unless otherwise noted)

JUVENILIA AND COMPOSITIONS OF STUDENT PERIOD	PUBLISHER	DATE OF PUBLICATION
Sinfonía		
Gran Fuga, for piano		
Sonata Fantasia, for piano		
Carnaval, for piano		
Paginas Sencillas, for piano	Wagner and Levien, Mexico	1921
Cuatro Estudios, for piano		
Cuatro Valses, for piano	Wagner and Levien, Mexico	1921
Cinco Poemas, for voice	Wagner and Levien, Mexico	1921
Cantos Mexicanos, for piano	Wagner and Levien, Mexico	1921
Trozos Varios, for piano		
Sexteto, for piano and strings		
Segunda Gran Sonata, for piano	Bote und Bock, Berlin	1923
Cuarteto, for strings (1921)		
COMPOSITIONS OF MATURITY		
El Fuego Nuevo, Mexican ballet (1921)		
Polígonos, for piano (1923)		
Tres Exágonos, for voice		
Otros Tres Exágonos, for voice (1924)		
Sonatina, for piano (1924)	Cos Cob Press, New York	1930
Sonatina, for piano and 'cello (1924)		
Sonatina, for piano and violin (1924)	New Music, California	1928
Energía, for nine instruments (1925)		
36, for piano (1925)	New Music, California	1930
Los Cuatro Soles, Indian ballet (1926)		
H. P., ballet-symphony (1926-27)	Affiliated Music Co., N. Y.	1936
Tercera Sonata, for piano (1928)	New Music, California	1930
Solo, Blues, and Fox, for piano (1928)	New Music, California	1935
Sonata, for horns (1929-30)		
Paisaje and Unidad, for piano (1930)	New Music, California	1935
Pirámide (1932) exists in sketch only		

	PUBLISHER	DATE OF PUBLICATION
Tierra Mojada, for mixed chorus, oboe, and English horn (1932)		
Todo, for voice and piano (1932)		
Soli, for oboe, clarinet, trumpet, and bassoon (1933)		
Sinfonía de Antígona (1933)	Affiliated Music Co., N. Y.	1936
Cantos de Mexico, for Mexican Orchestra		
El Sol, Corrido Revolucionario, for chorus and orchestra (1934)		
Llamadas, Sinfonía Proletaria, for chorus and orchestra (1934)	Ediciones Palacio de Bellas Artes, Mexico	1934
Spiral, movement for violin and piano (1934)	New Music, California	1935
Obertura Republicana (1935)		
Sinfonía India (1935-36)		

LONDON'S EARLIEST PUBLIC CONCERTS

By HUGH ARTHUR SCOTT

THE FIRST CONCERTS in England are generally considered to have been those begun by John Banister in Whitefriars, London, in 1672. And using the word "concert" in the sense of public musical performances to which anyone could obtain admission by payment, this view of the matter may be accepted. For there were certainly no other concerts answering exactly to this description in London—or anywhere else so far as I know—before then.

At the same time it is not perhaps generally realized what a large amount of music-making, approximating very nearly to actual concerts, was taking place in London much earlier than this. Professor Dent ("Foundations of English Opera", p. 7) has suggested, indeed, that the music which was being given in the theatres some thirty or forty years earlier—before the Civil War—might almost be regarded as London's earliest concerts. And there is a good deal to be said for this opinion.

The amount of music given in the theatres, at that period, was certainly astonishing. It was a matter of complaint on the part of the playwrights that such a large amount of the time available was occupied in this way. As Mr. Allardyce Nicoll ("A History of Restoration Drama", p. 59) puts it: "Music, song and dance were among other characteristics of the Restoration play, but even in the first part of the 17th century Jonson had declaimed against the attention which the audience were giving to these and similar adjuncts to plays." In other words the complaint was that the play was not so much the thing as the music and other trimmings; and from the particulars furnished of the music actually provided it is not difficult to understand this.

Thus, before the curtain rose, there were usually no fewer than three musical items, known respectively as the First Music, the Second Music, and the Curtain Tune (or Overture), with a corresponding number of further contributions from the orchestra throughout the remainder of the piece; and, in general, the evidence leaves no doubt that music constituted a very important feature of the stage performances of those days. One may believe, indeed, that not infrequently it drew the public for its own sake alone. Thus in a pamphlet by Theophilus Cibber

(quoted by Percy Fitzgerald in his "History of the English Stage"), we are told of one who, "often, as he loved music (or pretended a taste for it) would take a place in the pit to hear the First and Second Music (which latter used to be some select piece) but prudently retired, taking his money again at the door [this was the astonishing practice of those days—to return the money of those who left before the end of an act] before the Third Music and by that means kept out a spectator who would have been glad to enjoy the whole entertainment, though he paid for it."

Perhaps therefore Professor Dent's suggestion is not so wide of the mark as some might think, and it may veritably have been the case that in those days when, as he puts it, "the play was habitually preceded by a concert," music lovers repaired to the theatre almost as much for the music as for the play. Which being so, it is easy to understand how annoyed they must have been when, by the closing of the theatres in 1642, they were deprived of this enjoyment.

Happily, however, they were not left entirely unprovided for, since another institution then came into being which served their needs in a different way. This was the music house, or tavern making a special feature of music, a class of establishment upon which curiously little attention has been bestowed hitherto by musical historians. It is not even mentioned, for example, in Grove, although it was a well recognized and quite distinctive institution which played an important part in its day as the home of what might be not unreasonably considered actually the earliest public concerts in England.



Music of a sort had, of course, always been plentiful enough in the taverns, and never more so probably than during the Commonwealth period, when so many of the best musicians had found themselves out of work as a consequence of the closing of the theatres and other causes. Two typical cases have been cited by Mr. Percy Scholes in his fascinating volume, so packed with well ordered information, "The Puritans and Music":

Of Edmund Chilmead, one of the chaplains of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, Anthony Wood tells us (*Athenae Oxoniensis*)—"He was forced to obtain a living in 1648 by that which before was only a diversion to him, I mean by a weekly music-meeting which he set up at the Black Horse, Aldersgate-street, London." And at the same time as this minor canon of Christ Church, Oxford, set to work to earn his living by running one of those clubs which seem to have been a

feature of musical life in the days before public concerts were introduced, the organist of another Oxford college, Ellis, did the same by running such a club in Oxford itself.

Some remarks on the same subject from Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time" (p. 479) may also be quoted:

Our public concerts originated from the music performed at the taverns. When the civil war commenced and "the whole of the masters of music in London were turned adrift, some went into the army, some dispersed in the country and made music for the consolation of a cavalier gentleman," while many of the musicians of the theatres were driven to earn a subsistence by frequenting taverns and inviting guests to hear them perform. . . . The number of superior musicians thus added to those who habitually performed at taverns rendered them places of great resort and brought a rich harvest to the tavern keepers. After the theatres were closed, the taverns were the only public places in which music was to be heard.

Another check, however, came when, in 1656-57, Cromwell's third Parliament passed "an Act against vagrants and wandering idle dissolute persons" in which it was ordained that "if any person or persons, commonly called fiddlers or minstrels, shall at any time after the 1st of July be taken playing, fiddling or making music, in any inn, alehouse, or tavern, or shall be taken proffering themselves, or desiring or intreating any person or persons to hear them play or make music, in any of the places aforesaid" they should be adjudged rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars, and be punished accordingly.

Why this law should have been passed it is not easy to understand, since, as Mr. Scholes has so convincingly proved in the work above named, there was no general dislike of music at all on the part of the Puritans, and it is rather probable, I imagine, that it was aimed less at the music itself, than at the general conditions prevailing in the taverns at the time under its not always tranquillizing influence.

But in any case, the ban was lifted as a matter of course with the coming of the Restoration, if not before, and music, we may be sure, became more indispensable than ever in all places of good cheer. And such being the case, the development of the music house, or tavern laying itself out especially to provide music for the benefit of its customers, was only a natural development.

Encouraged by that "rich harvest" mentioned by Mr. Chappell, the tavern keepers had doubtless realized that here was a demand to be turned to good account, and laid their plans accordingly. Here were people wanting music but unable to get it anywhere but under their roofs, here were musicians in plenty to be had for the asking—for

musical performers' wages had come down sadly since the days when they had asked actually £1 for two hours' playing—and here, it may be added, were also to be had for next to nothing the organs which had been removed by law from the churches. And so the music houses soon became highly flourishing institutions.

Not too much is known concerning these establishments, but from one source and another sufficient information is available to give one a pretty good idea of their general character. The Hon. Roger North tells us for instance, in his "Memoires of Musick," of one situated "in a lane behind Paul's" [St. Paul's] which was, he says, the first. "There was," he writes, "a chamber organ that one Phillips played upon, and some shopkeepers and foremen came weekly to sing in consort, and to enjoy ale and tobacco; and after some time the audience grew strong, and one Ben Wallington got the reputation of a notable base voice, who also set up for a composer, and hath some songs in print, but of a very low excellence; and their music was chiefly [*sic*] out of Playford's Catch Book."

As to the precise location of this particular establishment, which was known as the Mitre—one of many famous taverns of the period bearing that name—Hawkins says: "It is conjectured that this house was situated in London-house Yard, at the north-west end of St. Paul's church, and on the very spot where now stands the house known by the sign of the Goose and the Gridiron; for the tradition is that it was once a music house."

Hawkins states further:

The name of the master of this house was Robert Hubert, *alias* Forges. This man, besides being a lover of music, was a collector of natural curiosities, as appears by the following title of a pamphlet published in duodecimo, *anno* 1664: "A Catalogue of the many natural rarities, with great industry, cost, and thirty years' travel into foreign countries, collected by Robert Hubert, *alias* Forges, Gent. and sworn servant to his majesty, and daily to be seen at the place called the Musick-House at the Mitre near the west-end of St. Paul's church."

According to Rimbault the Mitre was burnt down in the Great Fire (1666) and afterwards rebuilt.

A still more interesting music house of the same name was the Mitre at Wapping, of which Ned Ward has left a racy account in his invaluable *London Spy*. Describing it as a "famous amphibious house of entertainment, compounded of one half tavern and t'other music-house," he writes (not too coherently!):

We no sooner entered the house but we heard fiddles and hautboys, together with a humdrum organ, make such incomparable musick that, had the harmonious grunting of a hog been added as a bass, a ravishing concert of caterwauling performers, in the height of their ecstasy, the unusualness of the sound could not have rendered it to a nice ear more engaging . . . Having heard of the beauty and contrivance of the public music room, as well as other parts of the house, very highly commended, we agreed to take a view first of that which was likely to be most remarkable. So we ascended the stair and were ushered into a most stately apartment dedicated purely to the lovers of music, painting, dancing, etc. No gilding, carving, colouring, or good contrivance was here wanting to illustrate the beauty of this noble academy, where a good genius may learn with safety to abominate vice; and a bad genius with as much safety to practise it. The room by its complete order and costly improvements, looks so far above the use it's now converted to, that the seats are more like pews than boxes and the upper end, being divided by a rail, looks more like a chancel than a music box, so that I could not [? but] imagine it was built for a fanatic meeting house; but they have for ever destroyed the sanctity of the place by putting an organ in it, round which hung a great many pretty whimsical pictures. There were but few companies in the room; the most remarkable person was a drunken commander who, plucking out a handful of money, to give the music [*i.e.*, the performers] sixpence, dropped a shilling and was so very generous that he gave an officious drawer, standing by, half-a-crown for stooping to pick it up again.

From all of which it will be gathered what a very substantial and elaborately appointed establishment this Wapping music house must have been.



Another well-known place of entertainment of the same order, Hawkins tells us, was situated at Stepney, facing the west end of Stepney church. This had for its sign the head of Charles II and was the resort of seafaring people particularly. Like so many of the other houses of the kind, it was equipped with an organ, as well as a band of fiddles and hautboys, "to the music whereof," says Hawkins, "it was no unusual thing for parties, and sometimes single persons, and those not of the very inferior sort, to dance"—which would seem to prove (what is of course not surprising), that dancing as well as music was one of the attractions of these establishments.

Still another riverside resort of the same kind—it is curious, by the way, what a number of them seem to have been situated in the neighborhood of the river, though less so when one remembers what an all-important part the river played in the social life of those days—was the

King's Head at Greenwich, to which Pepys makes several references.

Thus under the date of Sept. 26, 1665, he writes: "So by water to Greenwich, to the King's Head, the great musique house, the first time I was ever there, and had a good breakfast, and thence parted."

Under an earlier date (Aug. 21, 1663) one reads: "After dinner altered our design to go to Woolwich and so went all to Greenwich, to the musique house, where we had paltry musique"—Pepys, it will be remembered, was an ardent music lover, with a considerable knowledge of the subject—"till the master organist came, whom by discourse I afterwards knew, having employed him for my Lord Sandwich, to prick out something (his name Arundell) and he did give me a fine voluntary or two."

This music house was perhaps the Globe, to which there is another reference under the date of June 6, 1661: "Called up this morning by Lieut. Lambert, who is now made Captain of the Norwich, and he and I went down by water to Greenwich. There we went and eat and drank and heard musique at the Globe, and saw the simple motion that is there of a woman with a rod in her hand keeping time to the musique while it plays, which is simple methinks."

This extract is interesting, not only for its mention of the use of a conductor's bâton—though Pepys's way of putting the matter, "keeping time to the musique," is rather naïve—at this date, but from the fact that the conductor was a woman. Is there any earlier mention, I wonder, of either a conductor's bâton or a woman conductor in England?

The music houses in general have, of course, long gone the way of all things and it will surprise most readers, I fancy, to learn that there is actually one still existing, although in a vastly altered form and with very different functions, save that the purveying of music is still one of its leading activities. I allude to Sadler's Wells Theatre, which began its long and chequered career in the 17th century as nothing less than a music house pure and simple. Long before this, as far back as pre-Reformation times, the waters found here had enjoyed fame and favor for their supposed beneficial properties, but in after times had been neglected and the well itself had been stopped up until found out again in 1683 "by the labourers which Mr. Sadler, who had newly built the music house there, had employed to dig gravel in his garden." (Hawkins)

Of Sadler's Wells in its earliest shape, as a music house, not much information is to be had, and in any case it belongs to a considerably

later period than that with which we are now dealing, having been opened by Sadler in the year named (1683). This fact in itself, however, is of some interest, as showing that the music houses still carried on long after ordinary concerts had been regularly established (by Banister in 1672), while in other respects the vitality of the place, especially in view of its situation in one of the least fashionable quarters of London, must also be accounted remarkable. It has, indeed, as music house, summer resort, place of miscellaneous entertainment, theatre, music hall, and now combined theatre and opera house and alternative home of the famous Old Vic. Company, outlasted every other place of entertainment, with the single exception of Drury Lane (1663).

After Sadler's death the place continued for a time on the same lines, under the name of Miles's Music House, but thereafter became a place of general entertainment—if that term can be applied to such revolting exhibitions as that of one monster who “ate a live cock, feathers, guts and all, with only a plate of oil and vinegar for sawce” and boasted further that he would do the same with a live cat!

As to the duration of the music house as an institution, it may be noted that it lasted right on till the end of the 17th century, if not longer, as may be gathered from the following paragraph in the *Flying Post* of Dec. 13, 1798:

Middle of last week a Club of Persons in masquerade were discover'd and stopp'd in the Parish of *St. Martin's-in-the-Fields* by the Constable and the Watch, according to the order of the Justices. The Musick-Houses in the City and Liberties of *Westminster* are also suppress.

What sort of music was provided at the music house? If we may believe Hawkins it was mostly of a very undistinguished quality:

The performers consisted of fiddles and others hired by the master of the house; such as in the night season were wont to parade the City and suburbs under the denomination of the Waits. The music of these men could scarcely be called a concert, for this obvious reason, that it had no variety of parts, nor commixture of different instruments: half a dozen fiddlers would scrape *Sellenger's Round*, or *John come kiss me*, or *Old Simon the King*, with divisions, till themselves or their audience were tired, after which as many players on the hautboy would, in the most harsh and discordant tones, grate forth *Green Sleeves*, *Yellow Stockings*, *Gillian of Croydon*, or some such common dance tunes, and the people thought it fine music.

Sir John writes very sweepingly and confidently as usual, but he gives no authority for his statements, and one would like to have a little

confirmation of them from other sources before accepting them as giving a complete account of the matter. No doubt there were performances of the sort which he describes, and of the "paltry" kind recorded by Pepys; but there is no reason to suppose that better fare was not provided also on occasion. Pepys himself tells us for instance, as we have seen, that he also heard some fine voluntaries on the organ. We know that the performers often included some of the best players of the day, and generally it seems quite unreasonable to suppose that the owners of these houses would have gone to the trouble and expense of laying them out and fitting them up in the lavish way described for the purpose of giving their patrons nothing better than such poor fare as that described by Hawkins, the like of which could have been had at most of the ordinary taverns.

Ned Ward, it is true, declared that he "had rather heard an old barber ring Whittington's Bells upon a cithern than all the music the houses afforded," but the jovial author of the *London Spy* was not a cultivated music lover and the statement may be taken therefore as meaning that the music was really, not too bad, but too good for the ordinary hearer.



When all is said and done, to John Banister belongs the honor and glory of having instituted actually the first public concerts as we understand the term—not only in London but in all Europe apparently, since nothing of the same kind appears to have been done anywhere else before. Private concerts in the houses of the nobility and elsewhere had, of course, been common enough before in all parts of Europe. But public concerts, such as those started by Banister, to which anyone could come on paying for admission, were a different thing altogether. And there is no record, so far as I am aware, of any earlier concerts of this kind being given in any other part of Europe—though some, such as the *Abendmusiken* of Buxtehude and his successors at Lübeck (1673) and those of the *Tonkünstlersocietät* of Vienna (1672) seem to have come into existence at just about the same time.

Though one of the best violinists of the day, Banister had not been too fortunate in his previous career. Having been appointed, on the death of Baltzar, leader of the King's band of twenty-four violins—Tom D'Urfey's "Four-and-twenty fiddlers all of a row"—the band formed by Charles II in imitation of Louis XIV's famous *Petits Violons du Roi*,

he occupied this post for some three years and was then displaced by the second-rate French musician Grabu, who was made Director over him. The story goes that he was actually dismissed for having had the temerity to tell the King that the English violinists were better than the French, but it is probable that certain charges which were brought against him by his fellow musicians in regard to the payment—or rather non-payment—of their salaries had more to do with the matter, and in any case he certainly was dismissed.

This was in 1667, but it was not until some five years later that he began his concerts, the first announcement of which took the form of the following advertisement in the *London Gazette* of Dec. 30, 1672:

These are to give notice, That at Mr. John Banister's house (now called the Musick School) over against the George Tavern in Whyte Fryers, this present Monday will be Musick performed by excellent Masters, beginning precisely at 4 of the clock in the afternoon, and every afternoon for the future, precisely at the same hour.

From subsequent announcements one learns that the prices of admission were 1s and 6d, and gathers further that the music performed was both "vocal and instrumental," that it was arranged that "the first day of every month shall be new musick," and various other details. Here is an advertisement, for instance, from the *London Gazette* for April 20, 1674, which throws some light on the extent of the accommodation provided and indicates further that the charges for admission had sometimes to be reduced:

At the Musick School in White Fryers, this present Monday, several new Ayres will be performed, beginning at seven of the clock in the evening; the usual Publick Room to be wholly abated, and the other Rooms & Boxes the one halfe; this to continue till Michaelmas next.

Another in the following year (*London Gazette*, Jan. 25, 1675) announces that Banister had now removed to Shandois-street, Covent Garden [Chandos-street to-day] "and there intends Entertainment as formerly, on Tuesday next, and likewise every Evening for the future, Sundays only excepted," while another of about the same date (*London Gazette*, Feb. 4, 1675) indicates that he did not always have the field entirely to himself:

A Rare Concert of four Trumpets marine, never heard before in England. If any Persons desire to come and hear it, they may repair to the Fleece Tavern, near St. James's, about two of the clock in the Afternoon, every day in the Week (except

Sunday). Every Concert shall continue one hour, and so to begin again; and the best places are one shilling; the other sixpence.

In general, however, Banister seems to have had little to worry about in the way of competition—I have come across no other instance—though it may be noticed that he continued to shift his quarters pretty frequently. Thus, in 1676, we find him “at the Academy in Little Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields,” while in 1678 he had moved again (and for the last time) to “*Essex Building*, over against *St. Clement’s Church* in the Strand.”

From the *Memoires of Musicke* of the Hon. Roger North one gets a good idea of what these early concerts were like, and a delightful picture it is which he gives us:

The next essay [he had previously been referring to the music houses] was of the elder Banister, who had a good theatrical vein, and in Composition had a lively style peculiar to himself. He procured a large room in Whitefryars, near the Temple back gate, and made a large raised box for the musitians, whose modesty required curtaines. The room was rounded with seats and small tables, alehous [*sic*] fashion. One shilling was the price, and call for what you pleased; there was very good musick, for Banister found means to procure the best hands in towne, and some voices to come and perform there, and there wanted no variety of humour, for Banister himself did wonders upon a flageolet to a thro’ Base, and the severall Masters had their solos. This continued full one winter, and more I remember not.

Of the arrangements thus described the most curious feature is certainly the fact that the performers played behind “curtaines”—why it is difficult to imagine, unless it were that the “musitians” thought that they would be more at ease and “unbuttoned” (probably with their pots of ale beside them) so concealed. Otherwise, going by this account, it might seem that these first public concerts differed little from those which had long been taking place in the music houses, the convivial facilities provided having been obviously a leading attraction in both cases.

I fancy, however, that North, who was a somewhat casual writer, may not have got his facts quite right, in particular as to the system of payment, since the advertisements make it plain that there were definite charges for admission, irrespective of the purchase of drinks; and it is this circumstance more than any other perhaps which differentiates these entertainments from the kind previously given and entitles them to be regarded as actually the first regular public concerts.

They would seem to have differed also from the music house performances in having definite programmes, which were sometimes announced beforehand, in being given at stated times, and probably also in the superior quality of their performances; for Banister, as one of the first executants of the day, is not likely to have tolerated second-rate colleagues, and North tells us specifically that he engaged in fact the best talent available.

Hawkins's testimony as to the good quality of the performances may be cited also—he is referring to these concerts: "For the gratification of such [he is referring to cultivated music-lovers] the masters of music exerted their utmost endeavours; and some of the greatest eminence among them were not above entertaining the public with musical performances, either at their own houses or in places more commodious." As to the actual programmes, they doubtless consisted in the main of the best of the established music then in favor, in the way of "ayres," fancies, sets of dance tunes, and the rest, while, as we have seen, a feature was made of the introduction of new works from time to time.



Banister's Whitefriars concerts were started, as has been stated, in 1672, but there is an entry in Pepys which would seem to suggest that he had attempted something of the same kind much earlier. This is dated Jan. 21, 1659-60, and runs as follows: "Thence to the Mitre, where I drank a pint of wine, the house being in fitting for Banister to come hither from Paget's."

This would seem to imply that Banister had been engaged in concert-giving at taverns as early as 1659, or thirteen years before he began his concerts in Whitefriars, which have always been regarded as his first venture of the kind. It is true that concert-giving is not specifically mentioned by Pepys, but "in fitting for Banister" could hardly mean anything else, and so it would seem that it was really as a music house performer that Banister began his activities in this way. For that the Mitre was a music house as well as a tavern may be gathered quite clearly, as it happens, from another reference by Pepys, viz., one under the date of Feb. 18, 1659-60 to the following effect (my italics): "Thence he took me to the Mitre in Fleet-street, where we heard (in a room over the *music-room*) very plainly through the ceiling."

Banister's concerts in Whitefriars, and elsewhere, went on for six years, being discontinued only in the year before his death (at the age of 49) in 1679, and from the fact that they lasted so long it may be presumed that they were sufficiently well supported at least to pay their way. They were followed immediately, in 1679, by those of Thomas Britton, the famous "small coal man," in Clerkenwell—though these were more in the nature of private music makings than of public concerts—and by many more—in York Buildings (Adelphi), Bow-street, Charles-street (Covent Garden), and elsewhere—carrying on to the beginning of the 18th century, by which time the concert-giving system could be regarded as having been definitely and permanently established.

BASQUE SONGS FROM SOULE

By RODNEY GALLOP

IF, in the sleepy, old-world town of St. Jean Pied du Port you take a mule and ride for a whole day over the high mountains between the Forêt de la Tigra and the Forêt d'Iraty, towards nightfall you will drop down into Soule. Of the seven Basque provinces, three in France and four in Spain, this is the smallest and least accessible. It consists of but a single valley—that of the River Saison—, broad below Mauléon, hemmed in above by hills which grow ever higher and steeper until above Tardets the valley divides into two narrow gorges which are brought to a dead stop by the peaks of Anie and Orhy, seven or eight thousand feet high.

Upper Soule has been called the Highlands of the Basque Country. There is little cultivation here, and the mountain villages are populated largely by shepherds who spend the whole summer with their flocks on the high pastures. Cut off from the world, they have conserved, even more than the remainder of the race, age-old traditions and folk-lore. Chief among these are the *Pastorale* and the *Mascarades*.

The Pastorales are a blend of the mediæval Mystery Plays and the ceremonial battle of the Moors and Christians.¹ They are out-door plays, dealing with biblical or legendary themes, chanted in verse, and performed with a highly stylized technique that lends these rustic players a dignity they could never achieve on the realistic stage. A curious tradition dictates that, whatever the theme, the players are divided into the "Turks," clad in red, and the "Christians," clad in blue. The latter are the good characters and the former the villains of the piece: the English in *Jeanne d'Arc*, for instance, the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah in *Abraham*, and the Germans in *Guillaume II ou la Campagne de France*. Occasional songs are interpolated such as the beautiful modal air sung by the Angel or by any character who is about to die:

Adagio

Ex 1

O i Jin - ko e - gi - az - ko - a Ze - lü lür - ra - ren krea - tza - lia

E - man i - za - da - züt Hil - tse - ko ko - ra - ge - a

¹ For a detailed account of one of these plays see the author's "A Book of the Basques," Ch. 6.

In the Pastorales, as an interlude, is also interpolated the famous "Dance of the Satans." On to the stage, the first time I saw it done, sprang out two fantastic figures. These were no commonplace stage-devils with horn and tail, but lithe and graceful youths in dancers' trappings. They wore vermilion bérêts and narrow little coats of scarlet with gold froggings, covered in front with a white plastron thickly worked in gold. Their breeches were of black velvet, with a wide band of gold braid, and splayed out at the knee over thick white stockings of open-work crochet. On their feet they wore dark spats, braided and spangled, over white espadrille sandals. Bodies erect and immobile, arms held stiffly near their sides, they seemingly glided to the front of the stage. Then a *pas battu* took them back. Again they advanced, and this time they executed that most gymnastic ballet step, the *entrechat*: *entrechat quatre* at first, simply crossing and uncrossing their legs in the air; then the more difficult *entrechat huit*; and finally *entrechat douze*. Nearly two feet into the air shot the tense, muscular bodies, and seemed to hang for a moment suspended while the twinkling feet crossed and recrossed two and even three times before dropping lightly back to earth. Then with a final *entrechat en cabriolet* these two peasant Satans were gone.

The music to which this dance is done is furnished by a very unusual form of the pipe and tabor. The *chirula* pipe is simple enough, a three-holed instrument with a sweet and Pan-like tone. With the hand with which he plays it, however, the musician also holds crooked in his arm the *ttun-ttun* or *tambourin de Gascogne*, an elongated stringed instrument of the dulcimer type, with two sound-holes and six tunable strings on which his other hand is content to keep up a rhythmic, percussive drumming with a little stick.

Similar music and the elaborate steps of the dancers are found again in the "Mascarades," a performance too long to describe here in detail, which may best be defined as a blend of ballet and mumming-play done at Carnival time in the high mountain villages. The "Mascarades" contain many of the features associated with ceremonial dances all through Europe: the Hobby-Horse, the Man-Woman, the Sweeper, the Fool, the Lord and Lady, the sword-dance, the shoeing of the Horse, and the death and resurrection. Perhaps the most thrilling moment is the Wine Glass Dance. A tumbler half full of wine is placed on the ground, and the principal characters begin to dance round it. In turn they leap over the glass with double and triple *entrechats* and yet contrive not to kick it

over. The crowning point of the whole performance comes when the Hobby-Horse, whose "mount" prevents him from seeing either the glass or his own feet, mounts upon it with one foot, describes the Sign of the Cross with the other, and then with a mighty bound springs clear without spilling so much as a drop of the precious liquid.

With one unimportant exception, no songs are associated with the "Mascarades." The instrumental music, French rather than Basque in character, sounds very charming and rustic on the *ttun-ttun* and *chirula*, and, as an example of it, the *Maskarada Marcha* may be quoted, to the lilting tune of which the dancers often cover fifteen or twenty miles when invited to a village other than their own:



Music in Soule is also associated with one or two other customs of great antiquity that find their counterpart in other lands. At Larrau, high up on the flanks of Mt. Orhy, wassailing or gooding is practised on the last Saturday in January by young men who go round all the houses wishing the inhabitants health, wealth, and prosperity. The very simplicity of their tune betokens its age, as do the words of one of its verses with its clear allusion to the traditional privilege of the Spanish Grandees:

Moderato

Ex. 3

E - tche - ko jau - na bi - de - an Ur - hez ka - na bat es - ki - an
Er - re - ge jau - na min - tze - raz - li - a Be - re bu - ne - ta bü - ri - an

*The Master of this house is on his way
With a golden rod in his hand;
When he speaks with the King
He keeps his hat on his head.*

At Tardets, where the valley begins to widen, any conduct which the villager regards as immoral, such as adultery, the marriage of an old

man and a young girl (or *vice versa*) or the beating of a husband by his wife (but not *vice versa*), is visited with "rough music." An infernal shindy is set up round the house with pots and pans and cow-bells; and satirical verses, many of them unprintable, are improvised to a traditional air:

Quasi parlando

Ex. 4

Pey-ro-ti-na za-har-tü Bū-ria zio-zu pe-la-tü

Pey-rot hor-rek na-hi di-o-zu Cha-tor lar-rez for-ra-tü

From the literary point of view, improvisation is the basis of all Basque songs. The gift of these simple peasants for impromptu versification is astonishing, even taking into consideration the facility of their language for rhyming. There are few of them who cannot furnish on demand a score of verses on any topic, be it last Sunday's sermon, Saturday night's amorous adventure, or the affray the day before with excise officers on the Franco-Spanish frontier. Since the Basque has a strong vein of pungent, satirical humor, many of these verses are witty and have a sting in their tail. Those who are most gifted in this respect are known as *koblaris* or *bertsularis* and are in great demand at weddings or village festivals where they sometimes engage in contests. These are veritable debates in verse, one man defending, for example, the married state and the other the joys of bachelorhood.

Nine out of ten of these improvised poems are forgotten as soon as uttered, but some are remembered, and a few achieve immortality on broadsheets. They are the source from which, without exception, all folk-songs are drawn. For a time, maybe, the name of their author is remembered, but as, like ripples on a pond, their popularity extends in ever-widening circles, they become anonymous and, in the fullest sense of the word, folk-song.



Of all *koblaris*, not only in Soule, but in the whole Basque Country, the most famous was an old scapegrace of the name of Etchahoun. Pierre Topet d'Etchahounia was born in 1786 near Barcus in Soule. He was

the son of honest peasant parents, but he was never happy at home, for his father disliked him, principally, if the evidence of his poems is to be believed, because Pierre bore him no physical resemblance. As a young man he fell in love with the daughter of poor folk, but his parents would not hear of the marriage. The bad grace with which Pierre deferred to their wishes is expressed in the curse that he is said to have pronounced against his father and himself, and which has become proverbial:

*May God curse Gaztelondo Topet
And all who give their hearts to penniless maidens!*

He married, on his twenty-second birthday, a wife chosen by his parents, one Engrâce Pelento, a year his senior and almost as unwilling a bride as Etchahoun was a groom. The marriage was not a success, and Engrâce's influential relations caused Etchahoun to be imprisoned on more than one occasion for ill-treating her. The climax came when Etchahoun, returning from prison, found that Engrâce had been unfaithful, and, trying to shoot the betrayer of his honor, had the misfortune in the dark to kill the wrong man. For this crime he was sentenced to a further term of imprisonment. Escaping, he publicly announced his intention of burning down his enemy's house. When the house caught fire he was able to prove an alibi and was acquitted, although the peasants believe to this day that the fire was his handiwork. He made repeated attempts to return to his home, but his son and his brother as well as his father and his wife were against him and turned him away from his own door. All his middle age was spent in poverty and exile. For long periods he lived in the mountains with shepherds and charcoal-burners, among whom his improvisations always assured him a ready welcome. In 1862 he died in his own home, although nothing is known of the circumstances of his return. It is unlikely that he was reconciled with his relatives, for after his death they made a bonfire of all the poems he had committed to paper, believing that the anti-clerical sentiments expressed in many of them would bring a curse upon the house.

Many of the songs that are sung today in Soule were originally poems improvised by Etchahoun, and to some his name is still linked by tradition. Two of these, hitherto unpublished, I was able to transcribe from the oral tradition at Tardets, the first dating from one of his frequent imprisonments and the second from his years of exile in the mountains:

Ex 5 *Moderato*

Bar - ko - che - ko bür - gi - an A - hal - kez bi be - gi - ak
lür - ri - an Gal - ta - tü i - zan nun di - ren han - ko kor - ti -
an Ei - a zer e - ba - tsi ni - on El - har - ri - an

*In the village of Barcus, in the court-house with my two eyes cast down,
Where, they asked me, were the things I had stolen from Elhart.
Seven quarters of corn from the bin, the ass from the stable,
Four hams from the cellar: Alas, that is how I turned my back on fortune.
Father of seven children, here am I in prison, wretch that I am.
If in my time I had been as I should have been
In no prison should I have lodged.*

Ex 6 *Moderato*

Er - re - ka - gi - o - la Zi - be - rü - an da Ar - tzain ba - li -
u - sik ha - ra bil - tzen da Et - cha - hun Bar - ko - che
han ger - ta - tü da La - gü - ner bei - ti - re hün - tü bi ko -
bla Ü - dü - ri - tü - rik e - zin me - re - zi zi - re - la

*Errekagiola is in Soule;
There gather the valiant shepherds;
Etchahoun of Barcus went among them
And sang a few verses to his companions
Who seemed to him to deserve them.*

*Karrikirriborda, known as Sans Quartier,
What a one he was for sleeping under the trees;
At night he took no heed to his flock.
Such a late riser was he, it was no fault of his
The wolves did not eat his sheep.*

*Last Sunday Karrikirriborda
Ate maize bread baked by his companions.
None has drunk water that he has drawn*

*Nor thrown on the fire logs that he has carried.
Only two days did he stay shepherd.*

*When he became a shepherd, out of carelessness
They left the provision sacks with him.
He ate so much, so full was his belly,
That he could not follow his sheep.
That night fifty of his sheep were missing.*

*He said to his companions:
Go in my place to turn the sheep out.
He could not tell his own sheep
And had to have them separated from the rest
By one of his companions in return for these few verses!*

As illustrated by these songs, the airs used for improvisation today are on the whole uninteresting and somewhat pedestrian in quality. They are usually in $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{6}{8}$ time, not infrequently with hesitations between the two, and the bar may be lengthened or shortened by a beat to accommodate the number of syllables in the line.

Fortunately this does not constitute the only music of Soule, for there are a great number of other songs, doubtless once the product of improvisations, which today are handed down from generation to generation and sung to traditional airs of great beauty. Many a mountain shepherd will draw from his pocket a little copy-book in which, with laborious care and fanciful spelling, he has copied down his repertoire of songs. In consequence the collector is often rewarded with anything up to twenty verses of a song, as compared with the two or three that are the most he can hope for in the other provinces. The following song, for instance, collected at Larrau, tells, after a conventional opening, an interminable story of how a shepherd, having secretly sold his father's sheep, pretends the wolves have eaten them, and of how he is found out.

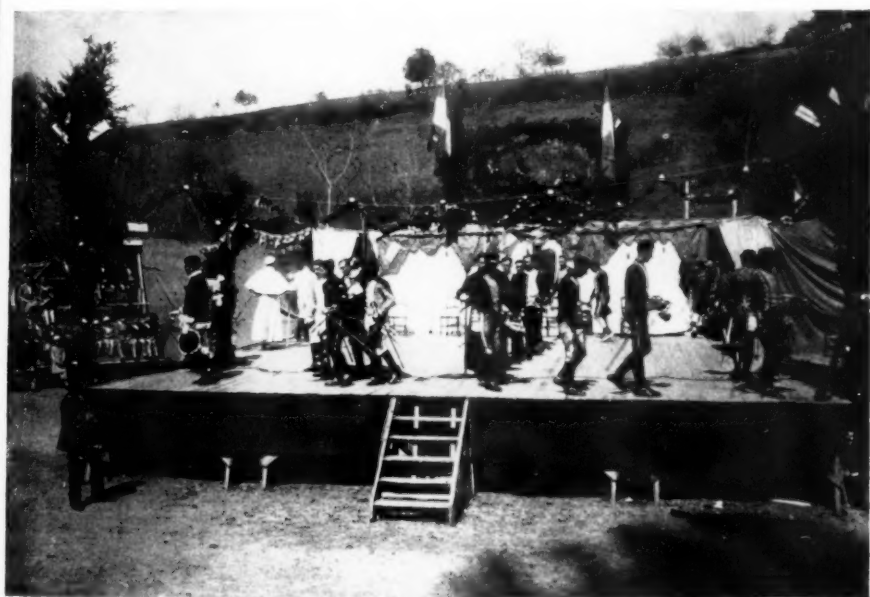
Moderato

Ex 7

Has-ten niz kan-ta - tzen ber - su ber - ri - en Ez-pel-tüt i - zen -
ta - tzen nu - re-nak di - ren Ez o - ta gu - ti - a - go nurk
o - gi-nik di - ren Na - hi ga - bez jen - dek be - gi - o - tan har ne - zen



Soule Musicians showing the *ttun-ttun* and *chirula*



A Basque Pastoral: *François I* at Tardets



Performers in the *Mascarades* of Soule



Mascarades: The principal characters dance

The melody, as will be noticed, is in the pure Dorian mode, and the archaic character which this imparts is thoroughly typical of Soule folk-song. It is, of course, quite impossible to date a folk tune with any certainty, for folk music undergoes constant evolution, except in a few cases of artificially arrested development. At the same time, a limited number of narrative ballads are still sung in Soule, the events commemorated in which are known to history as having taken place in the Middle Ages. Of these the most remarkable is the "Song of Berterretche" which was sung to me at Tardets, only a few miles from the spot, still marked by a cross, where Berterretche fell nearly five hundred years ago, a victim of the sanguinary warfare between the rival houses of Luxe and Gramont:

Ex. 8 *Moderato*

Hal - tzak ez - tü bi - ho - tzik Ez gaz - tam - be - rak ho - zür-rik E -

ni - an us - to er - rai - ten zie - la Ai - tu - nen so - mek ge - zür-rik

*The alder has not pith, nor does the reed have bark.
I did not think that noblemen told lies.
The valley of Andoce, oh the long valley!
Though it be weaponless thrice has it pierced my heart.
Berterretche from his bed spoke low to the maidservant:
"Go see if there are men in sight."
Straightway the maid told him what she had seen,
Three dozen men going from door to door.
From his window Berterretche greets my Lord Count
And offers him a hundred cows and their bull.
Treacherously spoke then my Lord Count:
"Come to the door, Berterretche, you shall return forthwith."
"Mother, give me my shirt, perchance the one I shall never cast off.
Those who live will remember the dawn that follows Easter."
Oh the haste of Mari-Santz as she sped past Bostmendieta!
On her two knees she entered the house of Bustanoby at Lacarry.
"O young master of Bustanoby, my beloved brother,
Without your aid my son is lost."
"Be silent, sister, I pray you do not weep:
If your son lives he is gone to Mauléon."
Oh the haste of Mari-Santz to the door of my Lord Count!
"Alas! my Lord Count, where have you my fine son?"
"Have you sons other than Berterretche?"*

*He lies dead over by Espeldoy: go, raise him back to life.
 Oh the men of Espeldoy, they of little understanding,
 Who having the dead so near knew nothing of it!
 The daughter of Espeldoy, she whom they call Marguerite,
 Gathers up the blood of Berterretche in handfuls.
 Oh what fine linen there is to be washed at the house of Espeldoy!
 Of the shirts of Berterretche they say there are three dozen.*

This poem, circumstantial, elliptical, exclamatory, was clearly written by some wandering minstrel familiar with all the details of the story, who acted every rôle in turn as he sang it to his hearers. The Mixolydian melody is just the type of tune to which a ballad singer of the fifteenth century would have sung and may quite well come from that period.

As in English folk-song, the use of modes need not betoken any ecclesiastical influence. Tunes such as the next two examples are characteristic rather of the secular music of a period before equal temperament had been discovered:

Adagio

Ex 9

Goi-ze - an ar-gi ez-kor-ri - an ji - nen ar-di-e - ki - la Noiz-ten
 Noiz-ten en-tzū-nen dü-dan mal - ti-a zu - re-bo-
 tza Ar-di - ak nun — ü-tzi tü-zün or - ra-da - züt — e - gi -
 a Ni-gar - re - tan i-kus-ten di - züt zu - re be-gi ei-je - rak²

Moderato

Ex 10

Goi - ti e - ta be - hei-ti ba-na-bi - la - zū ni be-thi
 Li-ber-ti-tzen niz u - nes-ki e - ne gaz-te la - gü - ne - ki
 E - ne gaz-te la - gü - ne - ki na - hi - a - go - rik zu - re - ki

In point of fact, however, the Church has exercised on the music of Soule an influence both strong and enduring. The Basques are not a

² This song and another from Soule not reproduced here are published with piano accompaniments and English singing versions in the author's *Six Basque Folk-songs* (Augener).

naturally creative race, and have taken their musical notions where they could find them. Throughout the Middle Ages the Church was the principal cultural agent that penetrated to these fastnesses, and the Basques are still today, as they were then, a folk of deep and simple piety. Music of an ecclesiastical type was also brought to them by the bands of pilgrims who passed through their country on the great mediæval pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. In the mountains of Soule there is still sung today a song without words, representing the soaring, wheeling flight of the buzzard, which is almost pure plainsong:



Another song, one verse of which describes the eagle in flight, reveals the influence of plainsong almost as clearly, in its tonality, its cadences, and its indefinite rhythm, determined as much by the words as by considerations of musical measure.

Andante

Ex 12

Har - tzen dü't har-tzen o - fi - zi - u - a Ya - ti - at ül - hain ba-nu-a

Nu - la bej-tüt bi - zi - u - a oi - han - e - tan kan - ta - tze - ku - a

A - bis hu - nik e - mai-tez e - ta E - gi - a er-rai-tez ba - nu - a

In a great many songs from Soule this character is enhanced by mannerisms of performance which the collector is powerless to reproduce in staff notation, and which owe their existence, at least in part, to the fact that in Soule song is never in any circumstances saddled with an instru-

mental accompaniment, instrumental music being reserved exclusively to the dance.

Of these mannerisms, one of the most pronounced is a tendency, as the result of more recent influences from outside, to hesitate between modal and modern tonality, and to half-sharpen a sixth or a leading tone, or to combine, as in the following example, a fragment of the modern minor scale with passages in the Dorian mode:

Andante

Ex 13

Gaz - te dem - bo - ra i - ra - gai - ten dü
Ai-rian ain - ha - ra be - za - la Gai-ak o - rok i - ra - gai-ten tüt
E - gu-nak ba-li - o be - za - la mai-ti - a ni zu - re - ga - na

There is also a tendency to rise in pitch while singing, which, with certain untrained and instinctive singers, is apt to produce the most surprising results:

Andante

Ex 14

A - dis - ki - de fal tsü trai - do - re in - fa -
mi - a Hi - tan fi - da - tü - rik be - thi - koz ni gal -
di - an Ga - le-ren-tzo - la Bür-dü - naz kar-ga - ti - a



It cannot be claimed that Soule is an entirely unexplored vein of local song. In addition to the researches which form the subject of this article, most of the known collectors of Basque folk-song have paid it at least a cursory visit, including Sallaberry, Charles Bordes, Azkue, and Donostia. Sallaberry, in particular, noted many melodies in Soule, but he was often guilty of modernizing them, a procedure which was looked

upon as normal and natural at the time of his investigations some sixty years ago. Tattered copies of his collection³ are to be found in many a farmhouse today. Fortunately the peasants cannot read music, and use the book only to refresh their memory of the words of many of the longer songs. In many instances I have been able to go over the ground covered by Sallaberry, and to note down more correctly melodies he was content to transcribe in the modern minor.

Ex. 13 is a case in point, as are also two other tunes, each of which, in the versions I was able to find, contain middle phrases of unusually beautiful yet characteristically Basque outline, which never seem to have fallen on Sallaberry's ears:

Andante

Ex. 15

A - hai-re za - har hun-tan bi ber-set ber-ri-rik A -
le-gran-tzi - a - re - ki kan - ta - tü na - hi

tit Bi - ho - tza li - bra - tü - rik pe - na o - ro - ta -
rik De - sir ni - an mai - ti - a bei - tüt go - ga - tü - rik

Andante

Ex. 16

Al - di-che ba - tex nin-da - go - la - rik — mai - ti - a -
ro - kin lei-hu - a Er - ran u - ken nio - zun hu - ra nia - la
go-gu-an E - ne pe-na do-lo-re-tan pi-e-ta - te har-le-zan

If modern research has improved on the luckless Sallaberry, it must not for a moment be supposed that the vein has been worked out. On the contrary, Soule still offers great scope to the scientific collector, armed with a recording gramophone, who would devote himself to the study of the subtle rhythmic and tonal inflections and other vocal mannerisms of a people who are at a most vital and interesting stage of their musical evolution.

³ J. D. J. Sallaberry, *Chants Populaires du Pays Basque*, Bayonne, 1870.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

NOW THAT the Americans have discovered Salzburg, and that their adored Maestro has made it, in their eyes, a musically fashionable resort, there is no telling what may befall the dear old town. It is a grand spectacle to see the Park Avenue *Dirndl*, in flowered peasant skirt, and the Lakeshore Drive *Bua*, in short leather breeches and bare knees, disport themselves with a proprietary air in the *Bismarck Strasse* and on the *Platzl*, or drive up to the Cathedral in their Rolls-Royce with smartly liveried Negro chauffeur and footman. Wolfgang Amadeus, in his pauper's grave, is missing a lot of fun.

Salzburg, or its town council, is not asleep: for those who require tautening of their jaded nerves, it has lately opened the Mirabell Casino, in the handsome Mirabell gardens—they date from 1607 and now lie in the heart of the city—, where roulette, baccarat, and *chemin de fer*, in the best Monte Carlo tradition, may be indulged in, and whither what are advertised as “brilliant social gatherings” lure many who precariously cling to the fringe of society. The cocktail-hour has struck for Mozart's birthplace.

What has all this to do with Mozart's art, with music? Well, of course, for those who care to attend it, there is the Salzburg Festival; and an extremely diversified affair it has come to be. Bayreuth—with its growling Teuton gods in high-heeled sandals and mangy bear-skins, its aquatic terzetto, full-bosomed and vociferous valkyries, gaudy flower-maidens, dragons, doves, swans, steeds, and the rest of the menagerie—is pale and stale in comparison, Loge's fireworks notwithstanding. Mozart, too, has his fire- and water-music, and his magic flute remains perennially bewitching. Mozart, however, is more liberal, more hospitable than Wagner. He graciously welcomes his great compeers; he can afford to. Not even *Orpheus*, *Fidelio*, *Die Meistersinger*, and *Falstaff*, succeed in robbing *Don Giovanni* and *Figaro* of their pre-eminence. “Something for Everyman” seems to be Salzburg's watch-word. With Toscanini, Weingartner, Walter, Rodzinski, and Monteux—all tried in America—at the bat, the batting average is certain to be a high one. But there are some who make a “home-run” (or run to shelter in the nearby mountains and the valley of the Gasteiner Ache—which is a river and not a pain) before the game begins.

The Salzburg festival idea is not a recent one, nor did the town's musical history have its beginning with the exploits of that remarkable Mozart family. Whoever wishes to know a little more about these matters, would do well to read Dr. Constantin Schneider's "*Geschichte der Musik in Salzburg*" (R. Kiesel, Salzburg, 1935). The author is one of Guido Adler's gifted pupils, diligently trained in the technique of careful and exhaustive research, impregnated with the principles of historical honesty. He is now attached, as a member of the music division, to the staff of the National Library in Vienna. He and Karl August Rosenthal¹—another of Adler's disciples and at present his faithful amanuensis—have delved, to good purpose, into the musical archives of the Salzburg Cathedral, and have begun to put much needed order into a vast accumulation of rich material. A volume in the Austrian "*Denkmäler*" bears witness to their zeal. Schneider's monograph on Salzburg is of absorbing interest, and, in its thoroughness and exactness, it does credit to its author as much as to the school in which he was brought up. Would that this school might find more young adherents in America.

And now let us take a brief glance at Doctor Schneider's book. Properly methodical, our author takes us back to the origins, however dark they may be. On the site of present Salzburg—a strategic point on one of their military roads across the Alps—the Romans built an outpost of their vast empire; they named it Juvavum. When, in 1842, the ground was broken for the Mozart monument in Salzburg, the spade and pick-axe turned up mosaics which proved that the Roman colonists, besides their inevitable temples, had erected here places devoted to theatrical and musical entertainment. The programs of these earliest Salzburg festivals, unfortunately, are not preserved, nor are the lists of illustrious visitors.

When the "barbarians" dispossessed the Romans in the valley of the Salzach, as they did in other places, they imported the cult of Mithras. In the vicinity of Salzburg, the Mithras-stones at Hellbrunn and Högelwörth continue to this day as witnesses of that cult. It was a crude and cruel religion—with "mysteries" celebrated in the gloom of rocky caves and culminating in human sacrifices—, but it understood and utilized already the emotional appeal of music. Some of its customs, if more or less transformed, have come down to the present; they are rooted in the

¹ Whose article, "The Salzburg Church Music of Mozart and His Predecessors," appeared in the October 1932, issue of this magazine.

belief that music possesses magic powers. Thus in the province of Salzburg, as in some adjacent parts of Bavaria, are still found the so-called *Anglöckler*, descendants of ancient initiates. In the Pongau, near Salzburg, these bell-ringers make their coming known by the sound of cow-bells, harmoniously attuned; in high spirits, the revelers enter the peasant houses; they sing and dance, in order to expel evil spirits and demons. In the Pinzgau they make the rounds of the farms, with chants that date from an unrecorded past. More curious even is the *Aper-schnalzen*, which is practised between Epiphany and Shrove Tuesday. A group of young men goes about, from village to village, cracking whips that range in size from very long ones, the bass, to smaller ones, representing the treble. These whips are graded to form a sort of scale. Their use, however, is not melodic but rather rhythmic, with a six-eight rhythm prevailing. In this strange sort of music we meet with vestiges of the days when witches were being lashed or exorcized.

There are still other customs of the Salzburg region that betray their heathen inception. The Tyrolean yodel probably descended from a primitive means of convocation and invocation. And some of the local folk-dances show traces of a connection with rites inspired by solstice and equinox. The old sword dances, mentioned already by Tacitus, survive in the choreographic antics of the miners of Hallein and in the sword dances for which Anthering, a small place north of Salzburg, is famous.



Christianity was definitely established among the Salzburg mountains at the end of the seventh century, with the coming of St. Rupert who, with twelve followers, founded the monastery of St. Peter that still exists today. Rupert's sister, Erentrudis, headed a convent for women. In these two institutions were laid the seeds of that musical culture which eventually developed to such luxuriant growth.

Charlemagne raised his protégé, Arno, Bishop of Salzburg (785-821), to archiepiscopal rank. Gregorian chant was cultivated by order of the emperor. Arno founded a library, consisting chiefly of the patient handiwork of the monks of St. Peter; melodies began to be recorded on parchment with the aid of neumes. Nevertheless, Salzburg (unlike certain other monastic settlements which were geographically more favored) did not play a leading part in the early development of church music; on the contrary, not lying directly on the high-road of artistic progress,

for centuries it lagged behind. The somewhat nebulous Hermann the Monk, who lived in the fourteenth century, is one of the few musicians of medieval Salzburg who have not sunk into complete oblivion. Doctor Schneider, in his copious and excellent musical examples (they fill sixty pages at the end of the book), gives six samples reputed to be the Monk's.

Heathen customs did not entirely cease with the Christianization of the populace. The *Sternensingen* (or "Star-singing"), which is still practised from Christmas until two weeks after Epiphany, is such a survival. Doctor Schneider gives one of these quaint songs—to what degree "refined," we are unable to say. The *Frauentragen* (or "Carrying of Our Lady"), customary during Advent, has implications connected, not with the Catholic church, but with the primitive urge for the self-preservation of the human race.

Secular music flourished alongside the sacred; it came to be regarded, in certain quarters, as too rampant. The Salzburg Concilium of 1274 enjoined the clergy to deny alms or sustenance to any wandering minstrel who had lingered in town longer than two months. Persistent laxity in obeying this order required it to be made more strict in 1291. In 1310, Archbishop Konrad I. saw himself obliged to promulgate a decree against "those former clerics who comport themselves as merry-makers and jugglers [*Goliards*, so named after their patron, the giant Goliath] and take an active part in the sect of minstrels." In 1420, finally, the Salzburg town-laws guaranteed immunity to any citizen who offended, injured, or killed a wayfaring musician. These persecutions notwithstanding, secular music and its discredited purveyors could not be downed. The "minnesingers" saddled nobility with similar disrepute. But their birth somehow ennobled their musical proclivities. Archbishop Eberhard II. befriended such men as Neidhart von Reuenthal, Konrad von Sonneck, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, all hailing from parts near Salzburg. Even Tannhäuser, most notorious of the minnesingers, is suspected of having come from a family indigenous to neighboring Carinthia. He brought upon it everlasting shame by his affair with Madame Venus and his unseemly behavior at the Wartburg. The heathen ancestors would not be denied.



The name that stands out most prominently among the musicians of Salzburg's Renaissance is that of Paul Hofhaimer. He was born, in 1459, at Radstadt in the Pongau; he died, in 1529, at Salzburg in a house

of the narrow Pfeifergasse, in part still standing today. Since 1886, a memorial tablet points it out to indifferent sightseers. Hofhaimer's first laurels were won at the court of Emperor Maximilian I, in Vienna (he was organist at St. Stephen's), and as a not always willing travelling companion of his monarch, during the latter's almost incessant peregrinations. He was renowned as a player on the organ and as a master of counterpoint. In 1515, the emperor conferred upon him knighthood. Comparatively late in life, in 1520, he returned for good to Salzburg, where he died seventeen years later. We may regard it as a measure of the esteem in which he was held, if we consider that Lukas Cranach painted him and Albrecht Dürer made a drawing of him. Will in four hundred years the contemporary importance of one of our modern composers be determined through the pictorial testimony of Léon Bakst and Pablo Picasso? ²

Doctor Schneider points to the interesting and curious fact that in the music of Salzburg, as in Salzburg's architecture, the waning Renaissance and the waxing Baroque for a long time coexisted. The conservative and progressive tendencies in art, as so often during its history, waged here a stubborn fight that lasted for decades, yes, nearly for a whole century, until finally the Baroque style—intensified and in itself carrying the germs of its decadence—remained undisputed victor.

In 1591, the splendor-loving Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau founded the Salzburg court-chapel. Both vocal and instrumental artists furnished the music, not only for the elaborate church functions, but for their master's lavish entertainments. The first conductor was an Italian, Tiburtius Massaino, from Cremona. And the Italian influence continued, naturally enough, even after native musicians of unquestioned excellence held this key-position in the musical life of the town.

For the consecration of the Cathedral, in 1628, the Archbishop Paris Count von Lodron ordered a festival mass from the Roman composer, Orazio Benevoli. The holograph score of this work, written on fifty-three staves to the brace, each brace filling one page, is one of the show pieces in the Cathedral archives. It is composed for two choirs of eight vocal parts each, two six-part string choirs, six wood-winds, and five brass instruments; three numbers in the mass call, in addition, for two special groups consisting of four trumpets and tympani. In 1928, during the Salzburg festival, the complete mass had its first, and eminently successful, repetition in three hundred years.

² In 1929, Hans Joachim Moser published a monograph on Hofhaimer (*Paul Hofhaimer: Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus*), with an appendix containing such of the composer's works as survive.

Visitors of Salzburg know the delightful castle of Hellbrunn, its superb gardens, and its unique waterworks fed from crystal-clear springs that gave the house its name. It was built by Archbishop Markus Sittikus von Hohenems, whose fondness for music and fair ladies found appropriate expression in one of the many groups of statuary that adorn the park: it represents Orpheus and Euridice, the latter bearing allegedly the traits of beautiful Frau von Mabon, wife of the Archbishop's generalissimo. The most notable feature, however, of Hellbrunn is its rock-theater hewn out of the mountain-side. And here, as Doctor Schneider proves with reasonable certainty from the chronicle written by Johann Stainhauser of Salzburg, musico-dramatic works, qualifiable as operas, were performed as early as 1618 and 1619. Hence the rock-theater of Hellbrunn may be regarded as the first and oldest opera stage on German soil.

The first two composers of Salzburg's Baroque period to achieve real distinction were Georg Muffat, by birth an Alsatian and a pupil of Lully's in Paris, and the Bohemian Franz Heinrich Biber. While Doctor Schneider has ample ground for his assertion that these two musicians were in a certain sense the precursors of Bach and Handel (direct influences of Muffat's are traceable in Handel's "Esther" and in one of Bach's Suites), we cannot always follow, or feel convinced by, the "resemblances" which the author claims to detect—not only among contemporaries or successive "schools," but among some composers that in time and space are worlds apart. That Mozart learned from Biber, as he did from others among his elders, is quite patent and natural. But musical similarities, very often, are not deliberate or even unconscious imitations; they arise from the inevitable similarity of feeling and concept inherent in a whole generation or transmitted to the next.



The period following upon Muffat and Biber in Salzburg was rich in minor talents, such as Eberlin, Lolli, Adlgasser, Meissner, Lipp, and Leopold Mozart. The birth of Wolfgang Amadeus, on January 27, 1756, was of course the great event in Salzburg's musical history. Fortunately for the boy—and posterity—, father Mozart recognized too clearly his son's prodigious gifts and Salzburg's provincial limitations to bring him up solely in the shadow of the archiepiscopal Residence. Hence the long travels to the various capitals of Europe that some critics have condemned as having too severely taxed the child; in reality they gave him a musical education such as no young musician had enjoyed before him.

Of Mozart and Salzburg not much can be written that is new. But Doctor Schneider gives of the known and essential facts a succinct and vivid summary, with here and there helpful corrections of small details. Mozart was five years old when Michael Haydn was called to Salzburg as head of the Archbishop's orchestra. A musician of solid accomplishments, if not of genius, he easily dominated the musical activities of his adopted home-town until he died there, in 1806. Carl Maria von Weber, at the age of eleven, became Michael Haydn's pupil and spent several years in Salzburg. Two lesser lights, Anton Diabelli and Sigismund Neukomm, were natives of Salzburg as well as products of Haydn. Neukomm, in September 1842, conducted the first Mozart Festival in Salzburg on the occasion of the unveiling of the Mozart monument.

After a brief digression, dealing with the folk-song since the close of the middle-ages—it should be remembered that Gruber, who on Christmas eve 1818, wrote the tune of "Stille Nacht," was schoolmaster at Arnsdorf near Oberndorf on the Salzach—, Doctor Schneider carries the reader through the remaining years that lead to the foundation of the "Internationale Mozartstiftung," the establishment of the Mozarteum, and finally to the revival and gradual extension of the festivals and their latest offspring: the great weeks of musical and dramatic gala nights. Of these we need not speak here. Special reporters, dispatched from all parts of the world, supply the envious folks at home with dithyrambic accounts. This year the *Falstaff* under Toscanini was somewhat eclipsed in Salzburg by the first public showing of Jan Kiepura's newest film, in the presence of the star, and by the first unreeling in Austria (or was it in Europe?) of "The Great Ziegfeld." Might it not be advisable to proceed at once with the filming of "The Great Reinhardt"—Salzburg's glorifier—and not wait until the protagonist is dead?

When the limousines with foreign licence plates have left, and the inhabitants of Salzburg have taken possession once more of their "Café Bazar," the town resumes its proper *tempo*. But not for long. The surrounding mountains and valleys, as soon as the first snow falls, get ready for the winter-sports and a new influx of restless humanity, to the satisfaction of travel-bureaus and inn-keepers. Nature's beauties and Music's history are Salzburg's richest assets. In respect to the first, some time ago, Herr Baedeker made himself the discriminating appraiser and guide; of the second, Doctor Schneider has now given us an equally reliable and handy record.

C. E.

Hofgastein



QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST

PREPARED BY EDWARD N. WATERS

AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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1936. 16 p, 8°. New York: Editor, M. D.
Herter Norton, 1936.

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Gregorian chant discography. Boston: McLaughlin & Reilly Co.

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The organist and the choirmaster. 99 p, 8°. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1936.

BRUCE, ROBERT

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BULLETIN OF THE FOLK-SONG SOCIETY OF THE NORTHEAST. No. 11. Edited by Phillips Barry.

24 p, 4°. Cambridge, Mass.: The Powell Printing Co., 1936.

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Cheyenne and Arapaho music. Los Angeles: The Southwest Museum, 1936.

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Journal. Volume II. International festival number. viii, 162 p, 8°. London: Cecil Sharp House, 1935.

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A treatise on the construction, repairing and tuning of the organ, including also the reed organ, the orchestrelle and the player-piano. 246 p, 12°. Boston: The Author, 1935.

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MATTHEWS, JOHN

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A new graphic notation for keyboard music. 20, 24 p. Crowborough, Sussex: The Author.

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A guide to symphonic music. Development of the symphony. A textbook for students and lovers of music containing the principal themes of masterworks in actual notation, together with brief analytical notes on their structural form and emotional appeal. Accompanied by two study aids: Miessner theme finder [and] charts for use of the trans-laphon. 90 p, 8°. New York: Silver Burdett Co., 1936.

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Syllabus of outline and material for introduction to musical literature. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Bros.

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QUARTERLY RECORD-LIST



PREPARED BY RICHARD GILBERT

BACH, J. S.

Partita No. 1 in B minor: Sarabande and Double. Bronislaw Hubermann, v. unacc. Reverse: Last part *Concerto in D, op. 61* (Beethoven). B. Hubermann, v; Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Georg Szell. English Columbia LX513.

Sonata in A minor. Reverse: *Pièce pour flûte seule* (Ibert). Marcel Moysé, f. unacc. Columbia 17066.

Twelve Little Preludes. Yella Pessl, harpsichord. Columbia 17063/4.

BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN

Concerto in D, op. 61. Bronislaw Hubermann, v; Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Georg Szell. Reverse of last part: *Partita No. 1 in B minor: Sarabande and Double* (Bach). B. Hubermann, v. unacc. English Columbia LX509/10/11/12/13.

Leonore Overture No. 3, op. 72a; Ruins of Athens Overture, op. 113. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. Gramophone DB2885/6.

Quartet in F, op. 59, No. 1. Roth Quartet. Columbia set 256.

Sonata in C minor, op. 111. Egon Petri, pf. Columbia set 263.

Symphony No. 5 in C minor, op. 67. London Phil. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. Columbia set 254.

Symphony No. 7 in A, op. 92. New York Phil.-Sym. Orch. con. Arturo Toscanini. Victor set.

Symphony No. 7 in A, op. 92. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. Columbia set 260.

BERG, ALBAN

Lyrische Suite. Galimir Quartet. Polydor 516.659/60/1/2.

BORODIN, ALEXANDER

Scherzo. Reverse: *Serenade* (Rachmaninoff). Sergei Rachmaninoff, pf. Victor 1762.

BRAHMS, JOHANNES

Sextet in B-flat, op. 18. Pro Arte Quartet; Anthony Pini, 2nd va; Alfred Hobday, 2nd vc. Victor set M296.

Sonata No. 3 in D minor, op. 108. Yehudi Menuhin, v; Hephzibah Menuhin, pf. Gramophone DB2833/4.

BRUCKNER, ANTON

Symphony No. 1 in C minor: Scherzo. *Symphony No. 2 in C minor: Scherzo.* Berlin State Opera Orch. con. Fritz Zaun. Victor 11939.

BYRD, WILLIAM

See *Morley*.

CAMBINI, GIOVANNI GIUSEPPE

Quartet in D. Reverse of last part: *Quartet in E: Minuet* (Paganini). Roma Quartet. Gramophone DB4447/8/9.

CASALS, PABLO

See *Montserrat Monastery Choir*, disc GY212.

CASANOVES, NARCISO

See *Montserrat Monastery Choir*, disc AF523.

CHABRIER, EMMANUEL

Bourrée fantasque (transc. Mottl). Paris Phil. Orch. con. Selmar Meyrowitz. Pathé PD9.

CHOPIN, FRÉDÉRIC

Variations on "La ci darem la mano", op. 2. Jean Doyen, pf; orch. con. R. Kretzly. Ultraphone BP1562/3.

COUPERIN, FRANÇOIS

Le Tic toc choc, ou Les Maillottins. Reverse: *La Guitarre* (Daquin). Yella Pessl, harpsichord. Columbia 17059.

DANDRIEU, FRANÇOIS

Les Caractères de la Guerre: Le Boute-Selle; La Marche; Deux fanfares; La Charge; La Mêlée; Les Cris; Les Plaintes; La Victoire; Le Triomphe. Pauline Aubert, harpsichord. Pathé PAT51.

DAQUIN, LOUIS CLAUDE

La Guitarre. Reverse: *Le Tic toc choc, ou Les Maillottins* (Couperin). Yella Pessl, harpsichord. Columbia 17059.

DEBUSSY, CLAUDE

Chansons de Debussy—Fêtes Galantes: En sourdine; Fantoche; Clair de lune; Les Ingénus; Le Faune; Colloque sentimental. Trois Chansons de Bilitis: La Flûte de Pan; La Chevelure; Le Tombeau des Naiades. Le

Promenoir des deux Amants: Auprès de cette grotte sombre; Crois mon conseil, chère Climène. Je tremble en voyant ton visage. Ballade des Femmes de Paris. De Grève. Maggie Teyte, s; Alfred Cortot, pf. Gramophone DA1471/2/3/4/5/6/7.
Estampes: La Soirée dans Grenade; Images, Bk. I: Reflets dans l'eau. Walter Gieseking, pf. Columbia 68575.

DUPARC, HENRI

L'Invitation au Voyage; La Vie antérieure. Charles Panzéra, bar; Mme. Panzéra-Baillet, pf. Gramophone DB5000.

DVOŘÁK, ANTONÍN

Carnival Overture, op. 92. Czech Phil. Orch. con. Vaclav Talich. Gramophone C2842.
Slavonic Dances, op. 47—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8; op. 72—Nos. 9, 10, 12. Czech Phil. Orch. con. Vaclav Talich. Victor set M310.

FAURÉ, GABRIEL

Ballade, op. 19. Marguerite Long, pf; sym. orch. con. Philippe Gaubert. Columbia set X62.

Quartet No. 1 in C minor, op. 15. Robert Casadesus, pf; Joseph Calvet, v; Leon Pascal, va; Paul Mas, vc. Columbia set 255.

GIBBONS, ORLANDO

Ah, Dear Heart. Reverse: *Sweet Honey-sucking Bees* (Wilbye). London Madrigal Group. Victor 4317.

GIOCOECHEA, VICENTE

See *Montserrat Monastery Choir*, disc AF522.

GRÉTRY, ANDRÉ

La Rosière républicaine: Danse légère; Contredanse; Intermezzo; Rondo; Romance; Furioso; Gavotte; Carmagnole. Paris Phil. Orch. con. Selmar Meyrowitz. Columbia 17067/8.

HANDEL, G. F.

Sonata No. 4 in E. Albert Spalding, v; André Benoist, pf. Victor 14029.
Capriccio in G minor; Fantasia in C (both from *Third Collection for Harpsichord*). Reverse: *Prelude; The Queen's Dolour; Hornpipe* (Purcell). Yella Pessl, harpsichord. Columbia 68592.

HAYDN, JOSEPH

Concerto No. 1 in D, op. 101. Emmanuel Feuermann, vc; sym. orch. con. Dr. Malcolm Sargent. Columbia set 262.

Haydn Quartet Society, Vol. V: Quartets in D, op. 20, No. 4; in F, op. 74, No. 2; in

F, op. 77, No. 2. Pro Arte Quartet. Seven Gramophone discs in album.

Quartet in D, op. 64, No. 5. Berlin State Opera House Quartet. Parlophone R2215/6.
Symphony No. 99 in E-flat. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. English Columbia LX505/6/7.

IBERT, JACQUES

Pièce pour flûte seule. Reverse: *Sonata in A minor* (Bach). Marcel Moysé, f. unacc. Columbia 17066.

D'INDY, VINCENT

Gentil Coqu'licot. Reverse: *Il était un petit navire* (Perissas). La Manécanterie des Petits Chanteurs à la Croix de Bois. Gramophone K7708.

JOSQUIN DES PRÉZ

See *Montserrat Monastery Choir*, disc GY213.

LIADOW, ANATOL

The Enchanted Lake. Boston Sym. Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. Victor 14078.

LISZT, FRANZ

Légende de St. François de Paule marchant sur les flots. Marcel Ciampi, pf. Columbia 68591.

MÉHUL, ÉTIENNE HENRI

Joseph: Vainement Pharaon (Act 1). Georges Thill, t; orch. con. Eugene Bigot. Columbia 4126.

MENDELSSOHN, FELIX

Rondo Capriccioso, op. 14. Jean Doyen, pf. Ultraphone BP1577.

MILHAUD, DARIUS

Les Amours de Ronsard: La Rose; L'Aubépine; Le Rossignol. Mlle. Mahe; Mm. Schenneberg, Rouquetty & Froumenty. Con. Darius Milhaud. Gramophone DB4999.

MONTERRAT MONASTERY CHOIR

O Vos Omnes (Pablo Casals).
Exultate (Palestrina). Gramophone GY212.
Ave Christe (Josquin des PréZ). Gram. GY213.

Animam meam dilectam (Victoria).

Missa Quarti toni—Kyrie; Sanctus (Victoria). Gram. AF521.

Miserere (Vicente Giocoechea). Gram. AF522.

Ego Sum (Palestrina).

Amicus Meus (Narciso Casanoves). Gram. AF523.

- Montserrat Monastery Choir, con. David Pujol. Spanish Gramophone set 105.
- MORLEY, THOMAS
Now is the month of maying; My bonnie lass, she smileth. Coupled with *Sumer is icumen in* (13th cen.); *I thought that love had been a boy* (Byrd). London Madrigal Group. Victor 4316.
- MOZART, W. A.
Concerto in A (K488). Marguerite Long, pf; sym. orch. con. Philippe Gaubert. Columbia set 261.
Concerto in G (K313). Marcel Moyse, f; sym. orch. con. Eugene Bigot. Gramophone L1021/2.
Concerto No. 3 in G (K216). Bronislaw Hubermann, v; Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Issai Dobrowen. Columbia set 258.
Così fan tutti (K588): Come scoglio (Act 1); Ina Souez, s; *Fra gli amplessi in pochi istanti* (Act 2). Ina Souez, s; Heddle Nash, t; orch. acc. Columbia 9104.
Quartet in E-flat (K428). Pro Arte Quartet. Gramophone DB2820/1/2.
- PAGANINI, NICCOLO
Caprice in B minor, No. 2; Caprice in E, No. 9. Joseph Szigeti, v. unacc. Columbia 68555.
Quartet in E: Minuet. Reverse of last part: *Quartet in D* (Cambini). Roma Quartet. Gramophone DB4449.
- PALESTRINA, GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA
See *Montserrat Monastery Choir*, discs GY212/AF523.
- POULENC, FRANCIS
Chansons gaillardes: Sérénade; Madrigal. Poèmes d'Apollinaire: L'Anguille; Carte postale; Avant le Cinéma. Pierre Bernac, vocalist; Francis Poulenc, pf. Ultraphone BP 1531.
- PURCELL, HENRY
Prelude; The Queen's Dolour—A Farewell; Hornpipe. Reverse: *Fantasia in C; Capriccio in G minor* (Handel). Yella Pessl, harpsichord. Columbia 68592.
- RACHMANINOFF, SERGEI
Serenade. Reverse: *Scherzo* (Borodin). Sergei Rachmaninoff, pf. Victor 1762.
- RAVEL, MAURICE
Miroirs: Alborado del Gracioso. Carlo Zecchi, pf. Telefunken A1947.
- REGER, MAX
Suite in A minor: Menuett und Burleske. Liebestraum. Max Strub, v; Elly Ney, pf. Electrola EH969.
Suite in D minor: Prelude; Gavotte. Ludwig Hoelscher, vc. unacc. Electrola EH966.
- RESPIGHI, OTTORINO
Old Italian airs and dances for lute (arr. Respighi). Roma Quartet. Gramophone DB4441/2.
- ROSSINI, GIOACCHINO
La Boutique fantasque (arr. by Respighi from Rossini piano pieces). London Phil. Orch. con. Eugene Goossens. Gramophone C2846/7/8.
- SCHMITT, FLORENT
Suite en Rocaille pour Flûte, Violon, Alto, Cello et Harpe, op. 84. Instrumental Quintet of Paris: Mm. René LeRoy, René Bas, Pierre Grout, Roger Boulme, Pierre Jamet. Gramophone DA4882/3.
- SCHUBERT, FRANZ
Quintet in A ("Die Forelle"), op. 114. Artur Schnabel, pf; Messrs. Onnou, v; Prevost, va; Maas, vc, of the Pro Arte Quartet; Alfred Hobday, str. bass. Victor set M312.
- SCHUMANN, ROBERT
Abegg-Variationen, in F, op. 1. Jean Doyen, pf. Ultraphone BP1549.
- SIBELIUS, JEAN
Night-Ride and Sunrise; The Oceanides. British Broadcasting Co. Sym. Orch. con. Adrian Boult. Victor set M311.
- SMETANA, BEDRICH
The Bartered Bride: Furiant (arr. Riesensfeld). Reverse: *Irish Washerwoman* (Sowerby). Minneapolis Sym. Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor 1761.
- SOWERBY, LEO
Irish Washerwoman. Reverse: See above under *Smetana*. Minneapolis Sym. Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor 1761.
- VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, RALPH
Fantasia on Greensleeves; Overture to The Wasps. Queen's Hall Orch. con. Sir Henry J. Wood. Decca K821/2.
- VICTORIA, TOMAS LUIS DE
See *Montserrat Monastery Choir*, disc AF521.

WAGNER, RICHARD

A Faust Overture; Lohengrin: Prelude to Act 3. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia set X63.

Siegfried Idyll. Paris Phil. Orch. con. Selmar Meyrowitz. English Columbia DX739/40.

WILBYE, JOHN

Sweet Honey-sucking Bees. Reverse: *Ah, Dear Heart* (Gibbons). London Madrigal Group. Victor 4317.

WOLF, HUGO

Italian Serenade. Léner Quartet. Columbia 68554.